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DECEMBER MEETING, 1899.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved, and the list of donors to the Library was read as usual. The Librarian said that he had received from Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, of Washington, D. C., as a gift to the Society, three trunks containing type-written material, of which no public use is to be made until fifteen years after her death, seven quarto volumes relating to her Reform life from 1842 to 1875, and some miscellaneous correspondence from 1882 to 1898; and also 12 printed volumes, 5 pamphlets, and 3 manuscript volumes. The Corresponding Secretary announced the acceptance by Mr. Charles P. Bowditch of his election as a Resident Member, and read a letter from Sir George O. Trevelyan expressing his gratification at having been made an Honorary Member. The Treasurer called attention to the conditions attached to the use of the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund, and moved the following vote, which was adopted:—

Voted, That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the current year be appropriated toward the publication of the Society's Collections.

Rev. Edward H. Hall, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH exhibited a volume of Winthrop Papers for the inspection of members, and said:—

A number of years ago the Society received from the heirs of a former Corresponding Member, Mr. Francis B. Winthrop of New Haven, who died in 1841, the gift of sixty-eight manuscripts of exceptional value as autographs, comprising no less than fifty-seven letters of Governor John Winthrop to members of his immediate family, seven letters of his wife

Margaret, one of his son John, with several other papers, the whole of which material, with a single unimportant exception, was first printed by Mr. Savage in editing Winthrop's History of New England, and subsequently reprinted by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop in the Life and Letters of John Winthrop.

A Committee, of which I was chairman, was afterward appointed to arrange and bind these manuscripts for permanent preservation, but, for reasons unnecessary to enter into, nothing was done at that time, and until recently they have been kept in a portfolio. Within the past few months, however, they have been carefully catalogued and repaired, — in some cases lined with silk, — and bound together in chronological order in a volume suitably inscribed.

The income of the Society's binding-fund being small, the expense involved has been assumed by our associate Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., and it is intended that the volume shall form part of the contents of the oak cabinet of early Colonial design, given by him to the Society on the completion of its new building, at the suggestion of his father long ago expressed.

No formal mention of this gift was made last spring, as Mr. Winthrop preferred not to receive a vote of thanks; but I allude to it now in order that the subject may be referred to in the index to the current volume of Proceedings, the origin of such articles being sometimes lost sight of. I may add that it is the desire of the donor that this cabinet should not be closely restricted to Winthrop Papers, but that, so far as space admits, it may be used as a receptacle for other historical material, at the discretion of the Librarian.

Mr. SMITH further said that in examining the great collection of Jefferson Papers given by Mr. Coolidge, the Committee had found copies of two short letters which did not fall naturally into the plan of their proposed volume, but which seemed to have sufficient interest to be printed in the Proceedings. The first is a letter from ex-President Adams to Mr. Joseph Milligan, a bookseller and publisher at Georgetown, in the District of Columbia.

QUINCY, Nov. 20, 1818.

DEAR SIR, — The repeated kindness expressed in your letter of the 30th Oct., and the beautiful present of your book on Gardening demand

the thanks of an entire stranger. The volume for our Agricultural Society shall be presented as you desire. Agriculture and Horticulture are become fashionable in the U. S. from Nova Scotia & Canada to the Mississippi, and I am mistaken in the character of my countrymen if they do not carry the science and practice to greater perfection than they ever have been since this globe sprang out of nothing. I feel sometimes a wish that I could assist; but nature is exhausted, and the lamp quivers to expire.

Can you give me any intelligence of Mr. Jefferson? I have received alarming intimations without any certain information. He is the last and oldest of my confidential, bosom friends, let party, faction, and politicks say what they will.

I am your obliged friend,

JOHN ADAMS.

Mr. JOSEPH MILLIGAN, George Town, Columbia.

A few days before the date of this letter, Mr. Jefferson had written to Mr. John Barnes, of Georgetown, as follows:—

MONTICELLO, Nov. 11, 1818.

DEAR SIR,—I take up my pen merely to answer the kind anxiety you are so good as to express in yours of the 17th Oct. respecting my health. I am recovering steadily, but have not yet got out of doors; but I think within a very few days I shall be able to get on my horse, to me the most sovereign of all doctors.

Affectionately adieu.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Mr BARNES.

The First Section having been called on, Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON read the following paper:—

Senatorial Biography.

I occupied myself last winter with an attempt to add the years of death to a copy of my “Century of the Senate of the United States.” And I found a number of men who were thought worthy of a seat in the Senate in former years, and whose biographies are incomplete, that is to say, the dates of death are either entirely omitted, given conjecturally, or stated imperfectly,—the year but not the day. I have been carrying on correspondence all over the country, and have greatly reduced the number, and wish to put the result on record in the interest of American biography.

I found sixteen Senators whose deaths are not fully recorded in Appleton’s “Cyclopædia of American Biography,” published 1887–89; Lanman’s “Biographical Annals of the Civil

Government of the United States," published in 1887; Poore's "Political Register and Congressional Directory," published in 1878. I have obtained the facts as to eleven of them as follows.

Joseph Stanton, one of the first Senators from Rhode Island, afterwards a member of the House of Representatives, died at Charlestown, Rhode Island, 15 December, 1821.

The next is a more important man, William Cocke, a typical pioneer of the highest and most useful kind. Born in Virginia, he was in public life successively in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Mississippi. His political career is principally connected with Tennessee, from which he was one of the first Senators, having as colleague the more generally but less honorably known William Blount, one of the few men ever expelled from the Senate. He unfortunately drew the short term, and failed of immediate re-election, but was after Blount's expulsion elected for a full term. He served in the War of 1812, and in 1814 was appointed by President Madison Agent for the Chickasaw Indians in the Territory of Mississippi. Appleton's "Cyclopædia of American Biography" says, "The date of his death is not on record." But in fact there is a monument to his memory at Columbus, Mississippi, where he died, 22 August, 1828.

James Lloyd was Senator from Maryland in the Fifth and Sixth Congresses. Printed records end with his resignation in 1800. He lived, however, till 20 September, 1830, when he died at Farley, Maryland.

George Jones, Senator from Georgia in the Tenth Congress, afterwards Mayor of Savannah, died at Savannah, 13 November, 1838.

George Walker, Senator from Kentucky in the Thirteenth Congress, died at Nicholasville, Kentucky, 25 August, 1819.

The next is another man of more importance, Montfort Stokes. He was Senator from North Carolina in the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Congresses. He was afterwards Governor of the State of North Carolina, and in 1831 was appointed by President Jackson Indian Agent for the Territory of Arkansas. He died at Fort Gibson, Arkansas, 4 November, 1842.

Thomas H. Williams, born in North Carolina, moved to Mississippi, from which he was one of the first Senators, serving two full terms. He afterwards moved to Tennessee,

where, according to Appleton's "Cyclopædia of American Biography," he died about 1840. In fact, he died at Nashville, Tennessee, 7 December, 1850.

The next is perhaps the most important man in my list, Powhatan Ellis, a person of political prominence in the second quarter of the present century. Born in Virginia, he moved as a young man to Mississippi, where he was a justice of the Supreme Court, and then Senator in the Nineteenth to Twenty-second Congresses. He was afterwards Judge of the United States District Court for the District of Mississippi, and Minister to Mexico. He later returned to Virginia, dying at Richmond, according to Appleton's "Cyclopædia of American Biography," about 1844. He died at Richmond, but not till 18 March, 1863, in the midst of the war. A favorable and probably just notice of him was printed in the "Southern Literary Messenger."

Another Thomas H. Williams, Senator from Mississippi in the Twenty-fifth Congress, died at Gershorm, Mississippi, 3 May, 1851.

Richard M. Young, Senator from Illinois in the Twenty-fifth to Twenty-seventh Congresses, died at Washington, District of Columbia, 28 November, 1861.

Robert W. Johnson, Senator from Arkansas in the Thirty-third to Thirty-sixth Congresses, died at Little Rock, Arkansas, 26 July, 1879. He is stated to have left the Senate on the secession of Arkansas; but this is a mistake, as he was not a member of the Thirty-seventh Congress, his successor taking his seat, 4 March, 1861.

Of John Noel Destrehan — one of the first Senators-elect from Louisiana, but who never took his seat — I have been able to learn only the year of death, 1824.

Of five men I have been unable to learn anything additional to the imperfect statements which are already in print. They are: —

John Hunter, Senator from South Carolina in the Fourth and Fifth Congresses.

Franklin Davenport, Senator from New Jersey in the Fifth Congress.

Joseph Kerr, Senator from Ohio in the Thirteenth Congress.

William Kelly, Senator from Alabama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Congresses.

John Henderson, Senator from Mississippi in the Twenty-sixth to Twenty-eighth Congresses.

I wish to add one or two facts which I omitted before. The shortest term of actual service is not so easy to establish as the longest; but I believe it is that of Rantoul of Massachusetts, who sat from 22 February to 4 March, 1851. The longest service is now not that of Benton, whose five terms were slightly exceeded by Morrill of Vermont. Two men, the favorite sons of Kentucky, Clay and Crittenden, entered the Senate each four separate times. The most curious senatorial career is that of Shields, who represented, successively, Illinois, Minnesota, and Missouri. The recent death of Hayward of Nebraska, without even taking his seat, may be an excuse for mentioning the extreme rarity of such an event. I believe it has only happened four times before, the last as long ago as the Twenty-eighth Congress.

Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS read the following paper:—

Occult Methods of Protecting the Currency; Sewall's Mnemonic Lines and their Interpretation.

In July, 1714, Joseph Moodey, a student at Harvard College, wrote a letter to his father in which he said that it was vacation at the College and he was lonesome. He therefore prayed that some suitable books might be sent promptly to him. It was the custom of the day for those who knew Latin to try their hands, from time to time, at hexameters, and the young student was merely following the example of his elders when he rendered this letter, or a part of it at least, into Latin verse. The father, prompted doubtless by pride at the facility of his son, showed the letter to Judge Sewall, who on the 6th of July wrote to the student—his cousin, as he termed him—“mending” two lines of the verses which had been shown to him. The “mended” lines contain the request for books above referred to, and in their corrected form are recorded in the Diary.¹

When Sewall wrote this letter to his student cousin, he was

¹ Tempore, quaeso pater, libros mihi mittere dignes!
Musaeum vacuum est, et solus degere Cogor.

engaged, as a member of the Committee for making Bills of Public Credit, in signing bills for a new emission. The Committee had devised a scheme for the use of different colored inks in affixing their signatures to the bills of the plate on which they were then at work, which scheme was of such a nature that if certain of the signatures should be red, certain others must in a fixed and definite way be black. Sewall had amused himself by rendering the rule through which this was accomplished into Latin hexameters. Doubtless a similar method of signing prevailed for the other plates, but our information on the subject is limited to what is stated in the Diary, and there reference is only made to the rule which applied to signing the bills of the "pound-plate." This expression may be assumed to apply to the only plate of the series then in use bearing the engraving prepared for the twenty-shilling note. This plate was generally spoken of as the middle plate.

The conjunction of circumstances was too opportune to be neglected. Sewall had incorporated in his letter the two corrected lines from the young man's Latin verses, and now by introducing the three lines made by himself to direct him in signing the pound-plate, he could cap hexameters with his cousin. Young Moodey had asked his father for books. If Sewall should enclose bills of the four denominations on the pound-plate, it would not only enable his cousin to purchase the wished for books, but at the same time it would furnish a practical exemplification of the rule embodied in his own hexameters. The sum of the four bills on the pound or middle plate is thirty-eight shillings. The four bills making this amount Sewall enclosed in his letter, adding two shillings to bring it up to an even forty shillings.

The entry in the published Diary which contains the account of the writing of this letter, after giving the two corrected lines of the young man's Latin, proceeds in its analysis of the contents of the letter as follows : —

"Transcrib'd my three Lines made to direct me in signing the Pound-plate

Ter niger apparet cui competit ordo Secundus
Ter signat Rubro qui Tertius Ordine signat
Ultimus et primus gradiuntur passibus aequis.

Sent four Bills exemplifying it and 2^d Bill to make it up Forty." . . .¹

¹ 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vii. p. 49. The middle plate prepared in 1713 contained the 20/, 10/, 5/, and 3/ bills. — Goodell's Province Laws, vol. i. p. 740.

It will be seen at a glance that to make the version of this transaction correct, as I have stated it, the 2*d.* bill referred to in the last paragraph should be a 2*s.* bill. In other words, it must be assumed that there has either been an error in reading Sewall's manuscript or there is a typographical error in the text which has escaped the notice of the proof-readers. The opinion that some such error had been committed was reached by myself, and through independent investigation by our associate Abner C. Goodell, during the period that the manuscript diary was in a storage warehouse, so that for a time we were unable to test our conclusions. The original Diary is now accessible, and an examination of the page containing the entry in question will convince any person that the bill required by the record to make forty was a two-shilling bill and not, as stated in the published Diary, one for two pence. As a matter of fact, there were no two-penny bills in circulation at that time, the first currency of that denomination issued by the Province being the parchment tokens in 1722. It is however a satisfaction to find in the manuscript that it is unmistakably a 2*s.* bill which is referred to, for if we had found a clear and distinct reference by Sewall to a 2*d.* bill at that date, it would have had a tendency to unsettle our conclusions as to the emissions which had taken place.

To persons unfamiliar with the currency of the Province, it may appear that the statements heretofore made as to the character of Sewall's mnemonic lines are based upon insufficient evidence. It may be well, therefore, briefly to review Sewall's connection with the Currency Committee, and to point out certain facts bearing upon the case which will aid us in interpreting the lines themselves. The editors of the Diary, in explanation of the hexameters, refer in a note to "The Act for a new impression of the Bills of Credit on the Province," passed June 25, 1714.¹ They call attention to the fact that under this Act a Committee of six was appointed, of whom Sewall was one; that the bills to be emitted were to be signed by four of the Committee; and they then go on to say that these bills were to be imprinted from three plates. It is evident that they account for the second, third, last, and first signers of the bills referred to by Sewall, by the clause requiring the signatures of four of the Committee for each bill, and

¹ Goodell's Province Laws, vol. i. pp. 740, 741.

in this they are undoubtedly correct ; but in my opinion they are not correct in seeking for an explanation of the rule that the signature of the second was to be thrice in black and that of the third thrice in red, and so forth, through the fact that there were three plates. There is, indeed, nothing in the Latin lines themselves, nor in the collateral statements in the text of the Diary, which in any way connects the three consecutive signatures in one color with the three plates. Sewall was explicit in saying that the lines were composed to direct him in signing the pound-plate, and now that we have discovered the error in the published text, we can also say that when he sent Moodey the four bills of the pound-plate, in order to exemplify his rule, he by this act was almost equally explicit in limiting the rule in its application to that plate. If bills from other plates were needed to illustrate the method of signing set forth in the lines, he could not have exemplified it through the forty shillings which he enclosed in his letter. Moreover, the editors draw their inference as to the three plates from a specific Act, which they say directed the Committee to cause to be imprinted bills from three plates, whereas the language of the Act is : " There shall be imprinted the sum of forty thousand pounds, thirty thousand pounds off the plate of the highest denomination, and ten thousand pounds off the middle plate . . ." In other words, bills were authorized to be printed at this time from only two of the plates ; and if, as the editors apparently conjectured, Sewall was then signing the bills to be emitted under authority of this Act, his mnemonic lines could not have been of service to him if they required for their application the simultaneous signing of the bills from three plates.

The theory evolved in the editorial note that Sewall referred in his Latin verse to the four signers and the three plates evidently rests upon the Act from which the above quotation has been made, and upon that Act alone. If it shall be deemed that the language of the Act, instead of sustaining, actually undermines this theory—so far as it relates to the three plates—then we must revert to the language used by Sewall in his Diary for information as to the field in which his rule was to be applied, and accept his positive statement that it was intended only to direct him in signing the bills of the pound-plate.

The editors of the *Diary* were evidently of opinion that the bills which Sewall was then actually engaged in signing were those authorized under the Act in question. In this conjecture there is every reason to believe that they were correct, although this was not the first time that Sewall had performed service of this nature. He was originally appointed on the Committee for making Public Bills of Credit, June 18, 1709.¹ Three signatures to each bill were required at that time. November 10, 1713, Addington Davenport was added to the Committee, and they were instructed to "procure two new plates, & four bills to be engraven on each of them, of such sums as they with the Treasurer shall think to be most convenient." They were further instructed "to make the sum of Ten thousand pounds of bills, off from the said two plates as expeditiously as may be (each bill to be signed by four at least of the Committee)." . . .² The two plates prepared by this Committee were the low plate and the middle plate, each containing four bills. Under the Act of June 25, 1714, a new high plate was ordered, which, following the established custom, also had four bills on it. It was from this and from the middle plate, as we have seen, that the emission was ordered and the rule requiring four signatures was repeated in this Act.

The theory that the pound-plate was the only one which Sewall was referring to has furnished a satisfactory explanation of the make up of the forty shillings sent to Moodey, and if it be the true theory we ought to be able to sign the bills of that plate under the instructions contained in Sewall's lines. Let us suppose that the four signers are ready for work, furnished with their black and red ink, and having before them a single series of the bills of the four denominations on the pound-plate. Bearing in mind that these bills were to be signed at the bottom, and that the signatures of the Committee were to be placed one above another in column, it will be seen that when Sewall assigned them a numerical order, he referred to the position in column, and not to the chronological sequence of the signatures. The top signature was his first, the next below his second, and so on. In the lines it is the signature of the second which, for metrical reasons, is first

¹ Goodell's *Province Laws*, vol. i. p. 645, note a.

² *Ibid.*, Postscript, p. 902.

prescribed, and which is to govern the color of all the others. Following the instructions precisely, as laid down, the second in order proceeds to write his name on the first three bills of the series in the proper position in the column, using for the purpose black ink. The third signs the same bills in red, placing his name immediately beneath the signature already affixed. The next signer in the order in which they are mentioned in the lines is the last, or the one whose name comes lowest in the column; and the most acceptable¹ rendering of the particular line describing his function, together with that of the first signer, is that the last and the first are respectively to use the same colored ink as the second and third have done. When the signatures are affixed in accordance with this interpretation, we have three completed bills, the colors of the signatures affixed to which are, if we begin with the upper signature, red, black, red, black. The fourth bill remains untouched, and unless we can infer that there must be a change of color for each signature at this point, the attempt to apply on these lines the rule laid down by Sewall must be accepted as a failure. If each signature changes its color on the fourth bill, then the scheme is complete. On this point Professor George Lyman Kittredge, of Harvard University, says that, in his opinion, the silence of the rule as to the color of the signatures of the fourth bill carries with it the inevitable inference that there must be a change of ink for each signature after the three registrations provided for in the rule.² Were no change of color to take place when the fourth bill was reached, the instructions to the second and third signers, instead of being "three times in black or red," should have been "four times," and the result would have been alternate black and red signatures on the bills, so uniform in application that Sewall never would have amused himself by composing mnemonic lines to describe it. With this change, however, we have a system which requires some care on the part of the signers of the bills to preserve the scheme in its integrity. A tabulation of the result will best show how the

¹ I say the most acceptable, and I might add the only intelligible, translation. If we say that it means simply that the first and last were alike, which is a possible translation, then we run against the snag that we have no clue to what that was.

² In this opinion Professor James B. Greenough, who has examined the table constructed by applying the rule, fully concurs.

scheme works out. Let us represent in our table the signers by the numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4, and the denominations of the bills in the series on the pound-plate by the letters A, B, C, D. If we then apply the rule, we shall have the following result:

Signers of the Bills.	Denominations of the Pound-Plate.			
	A	B	C	D
1	R.	R.	R.	<i>Bl.</i>
2	Bl.	Bl.	Bl.	<i>R.</i>
3	R.	R.	R.	<i>Bl.</i>
4	Bl.	Bl.	Bl.	<i>R.</i>

It is plain that the color of any one signature on either of these bills would reveal to one who had general knowledge of the scheme what the color of each signature on each bill ought to be; but it is equally obvious that a counterfeiter of skill could easily group the bills together and detect the system. The public, of course, could have derived no benefit from these different colored signatures. The bills once separated and placed in circulation, the clue to the system disclosed by the individual bill was of little value. Whatever there was in it was intended for the benefit of the government. All bills were supposed to find their way back to the Treasury in a short time, and a violation of the scheme on the part of the counterfeiter might lead to the detection there of a counterfeit bill. To that extent the government would be protected, but unfortunately it would not be the counterfeiter who would suffer. The process was not preventive in its nature, except so far as it exerted a moral influence upon the counterfeiter. The signing of the notes with different inks prevailed for many years, and is one among a number of expedients adopted for the purpose of protecting the government from counterfeits, which, to become available, involved the idea that the

counterfeiter must have been successful in deceiving the public. It would be interesting to trace the growth of knowledge of what was needed to protect the circulation of the notes, and to point out how, step by step, the engraver's skill was called upon to produce artistic work of a steadily increasing order of merit, until the culmination was reached in the engraving of the plates of the second new tenor bills, some of the features of which rival in their excellence the best hand work of to-day. It is not my purpose, however, to occupy your time now in discussing in detail the engraved plates. The special topic suggested by Sewall's mnemonic lines is the use of different colored inks upon the notes, and by the signers in affixing their signatures, and it is to the development of points of this class which represent a distinct stage in the progress of knowledge as to the duty of the government towards the people in the protection of the currency that I shall now turn. First, however, let me point out why the different colored inks used by the Committee in signing these notes were not needed at this time to detect altered notes.

The number of Colony or Old Charter bills subject to examination to-day is so small that we cannot speak with absolute confidence as to characteristics of the entire series. Placing such as we have side by side, we can see that they were in all probability easily susceptible of alteration from one denomination to another, there being no striking differences between the several bills. The Province bills of 1702 indicate a slight progress in the direction of providing differences to mark the several denominations. The individual characteristics of the separate bills of this set, although not so insignificant as those of the Colony bills, were inconspicuous, and not of much service to the public. The engraved plates of 1713 and 1714, the set which Sewall was signing, not only show some improvement in the general style of engraving, but features were introduced which furnished absolute protection against denominational alteration. The inscription of each denomination was enclosed in a special border having a fixed geometric pattern. If a person received a bill the inscription on which was enclosed in a truncated pyramid, he was at once notified that the nominal value of the bill ought to be one shilling. Each denomination had its special geometric figure within which the reading matter was

enclosed, and those who handled money could readily familiarize themselves with these patterns and the denominations with which they should properly be associated. It is evident, therefore, that the use of different colored inks by the signers of these bills was entirely uncalled for as a protection against alterations. It could only have been needed to detect counterfeits, when offered at the Treasury. Prior to this date other means had been resorted to for protection against alterations as well as counterfeits, some of which still remained in use at this time. All the Colony bills and all the old tenor bills were, for instance, indented. It is inconceivable that this should have been of any value, in the long run, even to the government, as a means of identifying the bills. As emission after emission took place, the multitude of stubs preserved in the Treasury, assuming that they were preserved, would have made the task a severe one to undertake the identification of bills by this means. Such bills as remained for any length of time in circulation became ragged and torn, and it was the custom to reinforce their strength by pasting paper on the back. The indent of bills in this condition could not have been of any value as a means of identification. The fact that the process was of no value was not, however, recognized in current legislation until the first new tenor bills were emitted in February, 1736-37. These bills were the first which were not required to be indented.

In 1704 counterfeits of the 20/ bills were discovered. There was no statute under which proceedings could be instituted against the counterfeiters, but rewards were offered¹ and proceedings taken against the criminals which resulted in their arrest and punishment.² All 20/ bills in circulation were ordered to be submitted to a committee for inspection, and this committee was authorized to receive counterfeit bills from innocent holders and exchange them for good bills. This solicitude for the currency of the bills stands in marked contrast to the spirit which dictated the methods pursued by the Committee of which Sewall was a member, and shows that the Assembly in 1704 were fully conscious that the stability of their currency rested upon public confidence.

The discovery of this counterfeit took place about July 22,

¹ News Letter No. 15, July 31, 1704.

² Goodell's Province Laws, vol. viii. pp. 431, 432, 708, 709.

1704, and on that date Sewall noted in his Diary that "It begins to be known that the Bills of Credit are counterfeited, the Twenty Shilling Bill."¹ The Governor's proclamation was issued July 24, and on the 25th, according to Sewall, the forgers were discovered. Their plate and press were seized,² and investigations led up to the discovery that they had floated about seventy of the bills.³

Two things greatly favored the counterfeiters. The first was the condition of the bills, which were permitted to remain in circulation until their state was disgraceful; and the second, the habitual lack of scrutiny on the part of the rural population, especially those who lived in sections where people were sparse. It was obvious that something ought to be done to relieve the situation, and on the 27th of February, 1704-5, the following resolve was passed:—

"*Ordered*, that the treasurer forthwith obtayn from London forty ream of the best wearing paper of propper bigness to make eight bills the sheet that may have eight paper stamps in Every sheet that may appear in the Center of the bills each ten Ream to have a different stamp which will prevent any Counterfeit without the agreement of the stationers and paper officers which may not be supposed, & that the Company of stationers who have the sole making of paper in England be prayed not to use those stamps upon any other ocasion, the charge whereof will be a very small matter."⁴

The only mark or stamp on the specimens of these bills in existence to-day is the red monogram of the letters A. R. which is to be found in 1708 and 1710. J. Hammond Trumbull in his *First Essays at Banking in New England* refers to this Queen's cipher as appearing about this time on the bills of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. He does not state that the red cipher was in his opinion the stamp put on by the Company of Stationers, but it would be natural to infer from the context that he thought so.⁵

The proposition for a change of the distinguishing mark on the bills with every ten reams of paper discloses, on the

¹ 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. vi. p. 113.

² See Goodell's *Province Laws*, vol. viii. p. 432.

³ Seventy pounds were appropriated for purposes of exchange. Goodell's *Province Laws*, vol. i. p. 557, § 3. Sixty-nine of the bills were presented for exchange. *Ibid.*, vol. viii. pp. 93, 106, 130, 145, 173.

⁴ Goodell's *Province Laws*, vol. viii. p. 107.

⁵ *Proc. Am. Ant. Soc.*, Oct. 1884, pp. 288, 289.

part of those seeking to introduce obstacles to counterfeiting, a curious tendency to multiply the forms in which the bills were to circulate. Apparently no thought was given to the difficulties thereby imposed upon the public in recognizing the genuine bills, and no attention was paid to the fact that the counterfeiter could make his selection from any of these forms. The idea seemed to prevail that so long as the government officials had the means of determining what bills were genuine, it was not of consequence, perhaps not desirable, that these means should be permanent or publicly known. Thus, in 1705, it was proposed that the Governor and Council might order and make alterations in the true bills of credit, and might appoint a person or persons to endorse or new sign the bills. These persons might put private marks to the bills when and as often as they should see occasion, and they were to keep account of the marks that they should make for the better discovery of any false bills.¹

This extraordinary suggestion seemed to be acceptable to the Council, and it was ordered by that body that a bill should be drawn to carry it into effect. The idea of permitting the Governor and Council to alter the bills was again embodied in a proposition submitted by a committee in 1706, although this time there were to be no private marks. Their recommendation was that power should be given the Governor and Council "in the vacancy of the General Assembly, and until the next session thereof, as occasion may require, to order any new mark, stamp, firm, or number to be made upon the bills; giving public notice thereof to the province by a proclamation."² This was favorably received by the Council, but rejected by the House. A few days after this report was laid before the Assembly, they ordered a plate to be forthwith provided, in which the eight several stamps or blazons affixed to the bills of credit³ were to be engraved. From this plate three thousand impressions were ordered to be printed which were to be distributed among the towns of the Province proportionately to their contributions to the taxes. This was to be done, it was said, for the better information of her Majesty's good subjects as to the

¹ Mass. Archives, vol. 102, No. 293.

² Goodell's Province Laws, vol. viii. p. 639. From Mass. Archives, vol. 101, No. 316.

³ These were the 2/, 2/6, 5/, 10/, 20/, 40/, 60/, and 100/ bills.

different forms of said stamps and the bills to which they belong. The figure denoting the denomination of the bill was to be placed in the middle of the stamp, in order to discourage ill-meaning men from altering and increasing the bills.¹ The order was carried out to the extent of printing fifteen hundred sheets "of the escutcheons or stamps of the eight several sorts of bills of credit,"² and the charge for engraving the plate was entered by the Province Treasurer under the item of "the escutcheon to prevent fraud."³ The doctrine that familiarity on the part of the public with the forms of the bills was a better protection than private marks by government officers was thus inaugurated.

June 10th, 1709, it was ordered that the thirty thousand bills of credit ordered by the Court to be imprinted should be "made with the whole scrowle of red inke through the body of the bill the better to prevent counterfeiting."⁴ For the purpose of illustrating the operation of this method of preventing counterfeits, the Committee which recommended it submitted a specimen sheet of bills printed from one of the plates, having the proposed red scroll imprinted across the face of the bills as suggested. With laudable economy they made use of the engraved scroll which had previously been used upon the backs of the same bills. It consisted of a network of lines closely interlaced in an intricate manner, and in the specimen sheet it was superimposed upon the face of the bills in such a way as to cover and render somewhat obscure nearly one-half the reading matter on each bill. Without materially adding to the mechanical difficulty of counterfeiting the bill, the confusion thus introduced must have played into the hands of the counterfeiters. I have seen no bill bearing this red scroll which was actually emitted, and it is not probable that the custom long prevailed of thus printing the bills, for in 1710 the Committee to prevent counterfeiting the public bills recommended that in the emission then about to be made, "there be no red scroll in the body of the bills contained in the small plate."⁵

¹ Goodell's Province Laws, vol. viii. p. 204.

² Account rendered the Committee on Bills, March 17, 1706-7, Goodell's Province Laws, vol. viii. p. 640.

³ Goodell's Province Laws, vol. viii. p. 642.

⁴ Mass. Archives, vol. 101, no. 360.

⁵ Goodell's Province Laws, vol. i. p. 668.

An examination of the bills subject to our inspection will reveal the fact that the system of diverse colored signatures can not only be traced through the several emissions of the old tenor notes, but it can also be detected in 1737 on the notes of the first tenor, in 1742 on the notes of the second tenor, and in 1744 on the notes of the third or last tenor. Of what preventive value it could have been would seem to be as difficult to determine as the riddle set by Sewall in his mnemonic lines has proved troublesome to solve.¹

Mr. A. C. GOODELL presented, in behalf of Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., a number of original papers, and said:—

Mr. President,—In a note to the paper I read at our last meeting, I briefly described Judge Samuel Sewall's repugnance and remorse at the part he was called upon to take in making some silk flags, bearing the emblem of the Cross of St. George,² to be used by the militia at a general training and sham-fight to take place August 31, 1686.

It was a singular coincidence that about the time you did me the honor to invite me to offer some remarks appropriate to the completion of Mr. Toppan's memoir of Edward Randolph, I received from Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., several

¹ The signers of the bills of the State continued to use red and black ink for the different signatures after the Revolution.

² I have stated that this was the first instance of the use of the English flag by the militia since Endicott cut out the cross in Salem in 1634; and this, Sewall implied when he intimated to Captains Eliot and Frary his inability to hold his commission in the militia, longer—reading to them “Mr. Cotton's arguments about the cross,” and adding “that to introduce it into Boston at this time was much, seeing it had been kept out more than my Life-time, and now the cross much set by in England and here; and it could scarce be put in but I must have a hand in it.” (Diary, vol. i. p. 147.)

But it seems that, at a training of six companies the previous October, “the White Colour with Red Cross” was “advanced above the Red Colour,” and retaken later. This “exercise,” however, was “Taking of the Fort,” where the national ensign had been in use from as early as 1636,—the magistrates granting permission with the protestation “that we held the cross in the ensign idolatrous, and therefore might not set it up in our own ensigns.”

Again, in May, 1681, some discussion was had in Boston upon the proposal to put “the cross into the colors” of the militia, but by the advice of Increase Mather that “it is not convenient to be done at this time,” it was “put a stop to at present.” And in July of the same year, Captain Walley, it seems, “unveiled” the cross at the head of his company, whereupon “Captn Henchman's company & Townsend hindered Walley's Company from lodging their colors, stopping them at the bridge.” (Ibid. vol. ii. p. 12*.)

ancient manuscripts, out of the apparently inexhaustible collection of the Winthrop Papers in his possession, among which was a perfect copy of the general orders to the militia on the occasion referred to, written by the commanding field-officer, Major John Richards.¹

By Mr. Winthrop's authority I now present this curious paper to the Society, suggesting that, as it is possibly the only instance of such a paper in existence, and minutely describes all the orders and evolutions of a general training and sham-fight in New England more than two hundred years ago, it be printed in our Proceedings.

August. 30. 1686./ 8 Companies. & 4 troops of horse. Viz. Cap^t Paige
C. Prentis. Cap^t Wade. C. Thaxter.

In the forenoone every Company to be apart, at their usuall Stations to Settle themselves in order to afternoone exercise.

To be at the parrade in the markt place at one of the clocke; to draw up Six deep; & place themselves so as to march out by Succession: Viz Cap^t Sewall on the right wing, leaving Space for the major^{rs} Comp^{is} on the right of him, & for Cap^t Heywood next before Cap^t Dummer, who is to bring up the reer.

Thus to march into the Co^mon, There to draw up in an even front according to dignity. viz y^e major on the right wing, Cap^t Sewall on the left, the rest of the Captaines in their proper places.

Then wheel the front into a Circle (viz face all outward & wheel) closeing the ring to to y^t place w^{ch} was y^e 1st front.

Then the eight L^{ts} attended by 8 drumms. 16. Serjeants to goe to M^r Vshers (where the p^rsid^t is desired to be & wait on the p^rsid^t &c conducting him into y^e ring at y^e place of closeing.

Then the Cap^{ts} being at the head of their respective Companies, & att the beat of drums (observing the drum maj^r) to fire at once p^rsenting into the Ayre.

The p^rsid^t may haue oppertunity to give co^missions & enstall all that desire it. then face outward & fire 3 times.

Then wheel of this Ring into an even front.

And forme the Regiment into two grand devissions. Viz. musketeers face about & march downe 12 foot cleer of the Reer, and face to the front. then close files outward to Order of each Armes; then Subdivide each devission of muskettiers, move them up to flanke each body of Pikes. mainteine intervall of 12 foot between the two devissions

¹ The militia was reorganized March 3, 1686-7, by the appointment of new officers. Sewall, the resignation of whose commission seems to have been accepted, and Richards, Checkley, and Dummer were left out. From that time forth we find no protests recorded against the use of the "papal emblem."

Then p^rpare for a charge of the horse incircling the front reer & both flancks of both devissions wth Pikes. Viz. Com.¹ The 2 outmost files of each devission of Pikes move & flanke yo^r muskettiers. halfe files of pikes face about to the right, pikes move cleer of the Standing p^t of the body. muskettiers of each devission close to the right & left inward to order. files of pikes ranke to the Right & left outward.

Then (haueing given notice to the Co^mander in cheife of the horse before yo^r intention of a Skirmish) yo^r drumms are to beat a challenge, colors flying. The horse to charge one troop at a time or halfe a troop who wheeling round the body of foot are to draw up againe on their owne ground (w^{ch} is to be the lower end of the Co^mon neer the fence) & so successively till all haue fired over. Then the whole body of horse to charge in four or six or eight files abrest, as they see cause. & after once wheeling about the foot to draw off at a convenient distance that their Reer may be cleer of the foot, they are to charge again in the front of the foot where between the two grand devissions, a Signe shall be made (by a handkercheife on a Halberd) where they shall breake thorow & passe out at the reer, & wheeling about to the right & left draw up on their owne ground againe. The Pikes charging to the horse & firing to front reare & both flanks successively as the horse com on. & halfe files of musketteires facing to the reer and fire as the horse wheel about.

Reducem^t The 2 outmost files of pikes of Each devission stand, the rest of the pikes file three to the right & left inward Muskettiers move outward from the centre of Each devission, ten paces. pikes of Each devission face to the centre march & close yo^r devissions. face all to yo^r leader

Com.² The whole body face to the Right about & move. The Right wing pforme but the left wing led forward by the first Cap^t notwthstanding all Co^mands of the Comand^r in cheife move away & draw up at 100 paces distance, & each devission face one another as Enemeyes. The majo^r sends a drumme to know the reason of this disobedience they Answer want of pay &c. It is returned their Complaint is wthout cause &c. & require their p^rsent quiet returne to their station, otherwise they must expect to be reduced by force. they answer they will oppose force wth force. Then both parties send to the horse for assistance; who supply both; & both Armyes are winged wth horse, & p^rpar for battle. The majo^r Drumms beat a p^rparative colours fly & trumpetts Sound; they answer wth the like.

The fight begins, first by the horse skirmishing each other two or 3 files from each wing at a time till all haue fired over; rallying themselves in the Reer of their foot.

¹ That is, Command (in the words of the rest of the paragraph).

² Command, again.

Then the foot ingage first by forlornes. Viz. 1st Six files from each wing led out by 2 sergeants to each company, meet the Enemy wth as many & wthin 20 paces fire once over reduceing in their owne reer & returning 6 files more from each wing do the like till all haue fired over. Then 2 files from each flanke led out by a Sergeant meet wth the opposite pty wthin 20 paces fire at once Rankwise & returne. other two files from each flanke, moving forward & firing in the Same manner till they haue gone thrô the body. Then fire once over Rankwise; one ranke at a time moving forward to convenient distance & firing reduceing in y^eir owne reer. The whole body now move forward & approaching wthin 50. paces trayle their pikes still moveing slowly forward, & begin to fire first by two files from each flanke ranking before y^e body. reduceing themselves next the pikes. Then rankwise the whole body moving up & pikes charging. Sometimes one retreating, & then the other as the drumms give notice, but none approaching neerer then ten paces of both Armes. In the heat of wth all the horse Joining together interpose, & drumms beat a retreat on all hands, face about & move to a convenient distance drumms beat a triumph colors florishing; then (if any minister be their) draw together as before & so into a circle as before & pray.

then every Cap^t receiveth his one Company marcheth home & lodgeth his Colours.

[Indorsed] "Training August 30th 1686."

The next paper is the draught of an address in the hand-writing of John Richards to King Charles II., by his subjects of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Its date is rendered approximately certain by the allegation it contains that tidings had reached New England through private channels of "the sentence of condemnation" of the Colony Charter, upon a writ of *scire facias* issued out of Chancery. The tidings were brought by Captain Jenner, who arrived at Nantasket from England about the middle of January, 1684-5.¹ The General Court was specially convened on the twenty-eighth of the same month, when an address to the king was adopted, which is printed in Mass. Colony Records, vol. v. pp. 466, 467, and, substantially, in Sewall's Diary, vol. i. pp. 79, 80. This address was in the name of the Governor and Company of the Colony, and was enclosed in a letter to Robert Humphrey, Esq., of London, authorizing him to assist in its speedy presentation to the king. The letter, which was drawn up by a committee

¹ Winthrop Papers, in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. viii. p. 300.

of the Court, consisting apparently of Samuel Sewall (although the surname is omitted in the record) and Elisha Cooke, seems to have been ready to be despatched by the thirty-first of July. Sewall enters the letter at length in his Diary,¹ early in June, with some slight variations from the form finally adopted.

If the rumor that the Charter had been vacated were true, it is clear that the General Court could not reasonably expect to be officially notified of it; nor could they expect that an address in the corporate name and capacity of the Colony would be received by the king. Indeed, it was hardly supposable that in such case any lawyer, admitted to appear as a solicitor before the Privy Council, could be found who would undertake to present it to his Majesty. By the sixteenth of April Mr. Blathwayt, the king's Auditor-General, wrote² to Bradstreet that the dissolution of the colonial government was the reason that the public officials here failed to receive communications from the home government.

The foregoing considerations justify the inference that this draught by Richards had been prepared tentatively as more proper in form than the address which was actually adopted by the General Court. It is to be observed that the addressers are described, not as representatives of the colonial government, but simply as his "Majesty's subjects." There could be no objection, therefore, to the *form* of this address, however it may have failed to express the general sentiment of the people, or to carry credentials of the popular will.

Whether this interesting paper was prepared during the January session, or was offered as a substitute for the approved draught after the advice received from Blathwayt, does not appear; but there can be little doubt that it was written some time between the middle of January and the last of June, 1685.

To the Kings most Excellent Ma^{tie}

The Humble Adresse of yo^r ma^{ties} Subjects of the Massachusetts Colony in N Engl. Humbly sheweth

That we cannott but be deeply Sencible of yo^r ma^{ties} displeasure ag^t this yo^r Colony, & the Consequents thereof, & though we might Say much, in extenuation at least, of what is objected ag^t us, to w^{ch} we

¹ Vol. i. p. 81.

² Ibid. p. 69.

haue giuen pticular answers from time to time by our Agents, & can we hope in truth Say that we haue not wittingly or willingly done what might incurre the Sentence of Condemnation of our charter (w^{ch} by private hands we are enformed hath passed) wherby we were inclined to appoint an Attorney to answer in Law when the Quo warranto was issued, & possibly might haue done the like had we had timely knowledge of the Scire facias: yet we finde by the opinion of the Learned Judges that we haue through mistakes & Ignorance missed it in what is essentiall to our quiet enjoyment of those p^riviledges granted to us by yo^r Royall ma^{ties} p^rdecessors; for w^{ch} we in all humility lay our Selues at yo^r ma^{ties} feet, humbly imploreing yo^r ma^{ties} clemency, according to that Innate Goodnes readily discovered by yo^r Ma^{tie} to greater Transgressors. That our past faults may be pardoned, our propertyes & priviledges Continued, so far as may Stand wth yo^r ma^{ties} Interest & the Good & welfare of yo^r Supplyants & we hope in future next to our pleasing God we shall study yo^r ma^{ties} Satisfaction, & to render our-Selues ever gratefull for what favour by yo^r Royall bounty, shall be granted to us.* We ^{designe}_{meditate} not any opposition ag^t yo^r ma^{ties} much lesse rebellion as we heare is, injuriously, suggested ag^t us, Our principles abhorre disloyalty, and our practice we hope shall be consonant; we haue learned to feare God & honour the King: If we be found guilty of the Contrary we shall willingly submit to the greatest Severities. the Reports of Sermons preached by eminent ministers amongst us of Such tendency are false Suggestions fained to heighthen yo^r ma^{ties} displeasure ag^t us. We humbly beseech yo^r ma^{ties} gracious consideration of this humble Adresse from yo^r ma^{ties} Loyall & Obedient Subjects & Serv^{ts}

& we shall ever as in duty bound pray &c

* more especially we humbly begge that our libertyes in religious matters, for w^{ch} our p^rdecessors forsooke all that was deare to them may be continued, our principles in that matter we hope are not fanaticall nor any wayes contrary to Government. but we hope we shall maⁿage it orderly & peaceably. — *Marginal Note in the same handwriting as the body of the Address.*

[Indorsed] "An Address from Massachusetts to his Majestye"

The next paper presented by Mr. Winthrop, reverting to the earliest in date, is unsigned. The date is approximately shown by internal evidence. It was written after news of the final judgment against the Colony Charter had been received in New England. This renders it probable that it was prepared by, or on behalf of, the clergy, who, upon the application of the General Court for their advice, 10 July, 1685, recommended sub-

mission to the king, as against those who were inclined to contend further for a restoration of the Charter. Some of the particulars are given in the Proceedings, vol. xii. pp. 105-107, and Mass. Colony Records, vol. v. p. 492. I have not identified the handwriting, which, if it proves to be that of William Hubbard, would render it probable that this is the paper about which the contest arose as described in volume xii. of the Proceedings above referred to.

We whose Names are underwritten humbly crave leave to offer our thoughts to this honoured Court in y^e present juncture as followeth;

We humbly conceive y^t althô while y^e charter remained uncondemned it was difficult to resolve what to do as to submission to regulations, yet now it is plainly incumbent upon his Government forthwith to assure his Majesty y^t it is not in the thoughts of his Subjects here to rebell or by open force to rise against his legal determinations (as some may have endeavoured to possess his royal breast) & to represent to his Majesty y^t it is our grief y^t we have so far fallen under his displeasure, & humbly to crave of him y^t He will not therefore so far trouble himself nor distrust us as to send any force upon us, which will be much to y^e suffering of this poor plantation, & further earnestly to beg his Majesty y^t if it may be his pleasure Our Government may be yet continued among our selves with such regulations as He shall appoint but as near as may be to what hath been hitherto here administered by our Charter, & in particular to beg of him y^e full continuation of the liberty of our Religion for the sake of which we have so adventured, laboured & suffered in this Wildernes.

This We are bold to move to this honoured Court as y^t which We apprehend to be at this time not only seasonable but necessary.

We know not indeed what God may unexpectedly do for us if we sit still either by sudden turning y^e heart of y^e King to favor us, or other ways providentially diverting what is intended & resolved concerning us, which wonderful appearing of God for us we are willing to hope & earnestly pray for and should rejoyce in, but yet peremptorily to depend & rest on such a thing in our circumstances we are perswaded would be to tempt God.

But if we be thus in the use of means & together with it this Government & the people of the land will strenuously, wholly & presently rise up to the work of reformation (which we are sensible hath hitherto been too much neglected, which neglect weakens our faith in y^e things above mentioned) we beleeve God would then yet graciously appear for this poor land.

[Indorsed] "This for the Court about the Mass^{ts} Government to petition the King"

The next paper is of a kind extremely rare. It is apparently the original and only record of the committee appointed by the General Court after the supersedure of Andros, "for the more speedy setting forth of the forces designed against the French." This committee, consisting of the Governor (Bradstreet), Sir William Phips, Major-General Wait Winthrop, Major John Richards, Major Elisha Hutchinson, Colonel Samuel Shrimpton, and Captain Sewall, or any three of them, were empowered "to grant orders and make such impresses as shall be necessary in order thereunto as the Council might do."¹

This was, of course, the council of war for Phips's successful expedition against Port Royal in Acadia.

The records of military expeditions are of an extremely transitory character. They are seldom preserved except in the journals required to be kept by officers in the field or by naval commanders. So the details of the purchase of warlike stores and other expenses incident to warfare (save such as appear on the pay-rolls returned to the Treasury) are soon lost or scattered. The paper herewith presented, brief as it is, shows when the business of recruiting for the expedition began, and what towns were asked to send volunteers; also that the call was made from headquarters by printed circulars. Other interesting details are given with regard to the organization of the land force and the impressment and outfitting of the new ship, "The Six Friends," for service in the expedition.

March. 24. 1688

Present
The Honrd Govern^r
Sr Will^m Phips.
John Richards
Coll. Sam^l Shrimpton.
maj^r Eli. Hutchinson
Cap^t Sam^l Sewall.

At a meeting of the Co^mittee for Setting
out the Forces in the expedition ag. the
French in Nova Scotia & Lacady
Agreed That Drums be forthwth beaten up in
Boston. Roxbury. Dorchester. Brantry. Charles-
towne. Cambridge. Watertowne. Woburne. Sa-
lem. Ipswich & marblehead. for voluntiers for that end.

That the new ship The Six Friends now lying at Scarletts Wharfe
be taken up for this service, & fitted wth all Speed.

That the Co^mittee Appointed to Consult & make provission for this
affaire be forthwith directed to make all hast in getting all things
ready, who are to be impowered to imresse what is needfull in case.

Land Captaines. Cap^t Crisp m^r Deering
Samⁿ Gookin Cap^t Norden

¹ General Court Records, vol. vi. (MS.) p. 127.

Sent p^y e dep^t Govern^r. 1 print to Cambridge & another to Watertowne & desired the dep^t to write to watertowne to the Cap^t to Beat yp the drum there. & the cap^t at Cambridge there for volunteires. & desired Cap^t Sewall to send the prints to Roxbury. dorchester & Brantry to direct to the Captaines as aboue. & given S^r W^m Phips. 1 paper for Salem, another for marblehead. & for Ipswich. to Consult major Gidney for a Cap^t at Salem & to acquaint Cap^t norden of marble head that he is chosen for a Captaine. & know his minde.

Cap^t John George to be spoken to to assist in this Easterne Expedition

Present.
The Govern^r
Maj^r Gen Winthrop
John Richards
Coll Shrimpton.
Maj^r Hutchinson.

March. 25th 1690.

Given forth a warrant to the Constables of Boston to impresse the ship Six Friends & Comitt her to m^r Benj^a Emmes to be fitted.

[Indorsed] "Order of Court at Boston About the Forces against Nova Scotia 1689."

The next paper is a scheme proposed by Richards for regulating the annual election of Councillors under the Province Charter. The author of this scheme, who was a member of the Council in 1692 and 1693, seems to have devised it as an improvement upon the rule agreed upon by both branches of the General Court a little more than two months before¹ the election of Councillors for the year 1693, to which he proposed to have it first applied. He did not, however, succeed in effecting a change of the method previously agreed upon. The practice of electing nineteen Councillors from Massachusetts *eo nomine* seems not to have been adopted until 1700,² and then for one year only. Before that time two Councillors "at large" were chosen annually, although attributed to the places of their residence, respectively. From 1701, onward, the Councillors elected at large were so designated in the lists, — eighteen only being assigned to the territory formerly called the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.³

1693.

For the more orderly proceeding & quicker dispatch in the p^rsent Election of Councillors or Assistants for the year Ensueing It is agreed. That the Rep^rsentatives gather the votes of their house by themselves.

¹ Province Laws, vol. vii. chap. 10 and note.

² Ibid. p. 238, foot note †.

³ Ibid. p. 241, foot-note to chap. 1.

And the Governor & Assistants take their votes by themselves in papers fairly written in one list, Cutt almost asunder betwixt Each name. That is, in the first place, the names of nineteen psons of the Inhabitants of, or proprietors of Lands wthin the Territory formerly Caled the Colony of the Massachusetts, W^{ch} votes are to be layd together on the Councill Board & mixed, then to be opened & sorted by the Secretary & other meet psons appointed by the Rep^rsentatives in^t the p^rsence of the Governour & Assistants, or so many of them as shall be p^rsent. In like manner five of the Inhabitants or proprietors of Lands wthin the territory formerly caled, New Plimoth. Then three of the Inhabitants of or Proprietors of Lands wthin the Territory formerly caled the Province of Maine. Then one of the Inhabitants of or Proprietor of Lands wthin the Territory lying between Sagadahock & Nova Scotia: And those Nineteen psons for the Massachusetts that haue most votes, & those five for Plimoth & those three for Maine & the one for Sagadahock that haue most votes viz twenty Eight in all, are to be layd before his Excellency the Governour for his approbation.

[Indorsed] "About Election of Councillors 1693."

The following draught of an address to King William and Queen Mary differs from the draught actually adopted¹ chiefly in that the latter included, with the Governor, — who alone is named in Richards's draught, — the Lieutenant-Governor and the Secretary, as persons for whose enjoyment of royal favor the addressers returned thanks, and for whose continuance in office they prayed.

Probably the additional names were inserted to conciliate members of the General Court whose votes were necessary to secure the adoption of the address. It was only by the rejection of all members not residents of the places they claimed to represent, that Phips's party had been able to avert a signal defeat. The exclusion of non-residents from eligibility as representatives, which was an unfortunate mistake, the evil consequences of which have been deplored from that day to the present, reduced the number of Phips's opponents, but not to such an extent as to insure his success without a compromise.

Richards was a Phips man, out and out, as may be inferred from this draught, although not so strong a partisan as to be unwilling to assent to the change above mentioned, which appears to have been made by a joint committee of which he was chairman.² A further account of this episode in Phips's

¹ Province Laws, vol. vii. chap. 5.

² Ibid. p. 388.

career is given in the note¹ to the resolve referred to as in the Province Laws, and in the authorities therein cited.

To their most Excellent Majestyes King William & Queen Mary
The Humble Adresse of the Councill & Rep^sentatives of the Province
of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, in Generall Court
Assembled

May it please Your Majestyes

We yo^r Ma^{ties} most dutifull & Loyall Subjects the Councill & Representatives of yo^r Ma^{ties} Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, having formerly prostrated our Selves at yo^r ma^{ties} feet, wth humble & gratefull acknowledgement of yo^r ma^{ties} favor, in granting us a Royall Charter, containuing severall great priviledges, & confirming to us our Propertyes & Possessions; — As also in that yo^r Ma^{ties} haue been graciously pleased to appoint S^r Will^m Phips to be yo^r Governour in this Territory. We do againe make our Adresse of thanks to yo^r ma^{ties}, in all humility praying the Continuance of the Said S^r W^m Phips in Goverment over us, whom we know to haue an affectionate zeal for yo^r ma^{ties} Service, & industrious Care & Labour for the Good of yo^r ma^{ties} Subjects in these parts, both w^{ch} he hath vpon all occasions demonstrated, On w^{ch} account, his being Confirmed in his p^rsent Station will Extremely Oblige not only us, but by far the greater part of yo^r good Subjects in the Severall Townes, who haue chosen us to bee their Rep^sentatives.

Yo^r Ma^{ties} according to yo^r great Wisdome haue Considered the Inclinations of the Generality of yo^r Subjects in England & in Scotland. It is not vnknowne to yo^r Ma^{ties} that we in New England do (as our fathers did) in matters relating to church discipline & Ceremoneys differ from other English Plantations: & we doubt not but yo^r Ma^{ties} will likewise please to Consider yo^r Loyall Subjects in this Part of yo^r Dominions, & that we shall still be refreshed wth the benigne Influence of yo^r Grace & favor, who shall never Cease to pray for yo^r ma^{ties} long & happy Raigne over us.

BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND

Novem. 8. 1693.

[On the reverse] “We likewise Humbly & thankfully acknowledge yo^r ma^{ties} favor in the Assistance given us by the Continuance of the 2 frigotts w^{ch} hath been of much Service to yo^r ma^{ties} Territory's here.”

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated a copy of a diary or note-book kept by Rev. Increase Mather, which has been in the possession of the Society for many years, and said: —

¹ Province Laws, vol. vii. chap. 5, pp. 387-389.

More than forty years ago, on March 11, 1858, a valuable gift was made to the library of the Historical Society by Miss Elizabeth Belknap, the daughter and sole surviving child of the Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D.D. It consisted of all the books, pamphlets, and manuscripts relating to American history that had belonged to her father, who may be considered as the founder of this Society. In the collection was a manuscript diary kept by Increase Mather during the years 1675 and 1676, which begins with the new year ("1^m. 25^d. 1675"), and goes to December 7 ("10^m. 7"), 1676. Like many of the ministers of that period, the diarist wrote a hand that was full of abbreviations and contractions; and in this paper it has been thought best not to fill out such gaps for the most part, but to leave the text as originally written when there is no special ambiguity in doing so. As a rule he ended most of his paragraphs either with "etc." or the shortened form "et."; and he was also in the habit of writing "e" (et) for "and." The syllable "er" is generally indicated by a slanting backward stroke through the preceding letter, and there are also other peculiar characters in the manuscript. The syllable "con" is often represented by an arbitrary sign which cannot be shown by ordinary type, and "th" by the letter "y."

The diary is kept in a small bound book, about three inches by five in size, which originally had clasps attached to the covers. It was made by binding together four folds of paper, containing twenty-four pages each. At the beginning of the book are six unnumbered pages, on four of which is some miscellaneous writing not connected for the most part with the other contents; and these are followed by eighty-six numbered pages, besides two leaves of duplicated pages near the middle of the volume. In many places certain words and passages are underscored in red ink, which was done by Dr. Belknap for his own use and convenience. Similar markings are found elsewhere in other manuscripts of this Library, which were consulted by him, such as the Belknap Papers and John Marshall's Diary. For ready reference the end of each page of the diary is indicated in the printed copy by heavy-faced figures enclosed within brackets; and the numbers of the four duplicated pages are followed by an asterisk [*]. Apparently the little volume served as a kind of pocket note-book, wherein the writer jotted down briefly the items which

he wished to save, and later, in an amplified form, entered many of them in a larger diary. See Cotton Mather's "Parentator" (pp. 36-38), for a confirmation of this view. There is internal evidence that some of the minutes were not made on the day of the date, but two or three days later.

The entries contain many pious ejaculations of the writer, and illustrate the working of his mind on every-day subjects. They are of interest as giving the kind of food that was then thought needful for the mental and spiritual growth of the religious man. There was a strong similarity between his life and that of his contemporary, Chief Justice Sewall, and in many respects their experience was the same.

1675. 1676. p. 56.

Erunt jnsuperabiles si inseparabiles.

Polycrates Greg. Nazianzeni Filius episcop^{us} Ephesionus ait se octavum^m esse episcopum^m natum ex majoribus episcopis. Euseb. L. 5. [Cap. XXII.] Eccles. Hist.

Dr. Amess Tomb might have had yt Inscriptⁿ on it, w^{ch} Scipio by his will appointed to be on His, Ingrata patria ne ossa mea quidem habes.

Dr Butlers Receipt.

Take 3 pints of Malmesye boyle yrin an handfull of sage, e an handfull of rue, till one pint be wasted. yn strain it e set it over ye fire agñ yn put yrn a pennyworth of long pepp, halfe an ounce of ginger, e a quarter of an ounce of nutmegs. yn let it boyle a little. yn put yrn 4 penniworth of mithridate. 2 pennyworth Treacle, a q^{ter} of a pint of good aqua vitae, or rather of hot Angelica water. Keep yes as life, above all worldly Treasure. Take it always warme both morning e evening a spoonfull or two, if yo already diseased, e sweat yrvpon. If not diseased (once a day) a spoonfull is sufficient. In all ye Plague Time vnder God trust to this for certayn; For yr was never man nor woman nor child upon ys deceived, if ye heart were not cleare mortified e drowned wh ye sd disease bef. This is not onely good for London plague w^{ch} is called ye sickness, but agñ ye smallpox, measles, surfets e diverse other diseases

Thomas Hunt	1
Cotton Mather	2
Obadiah Gill	3
W ^m Sumner	4
Thomas Walter	5
Thomas Baker	6

Henry Chrtchet	7
John Gough	8
Joseph Billinge	9
Moses Hobart	10
Elias Hobart	11
Timothy Iles.	12
John Barnard	13
Henry Dawson	14

prayer for Nath. & Sam. p. 5, 6, 7.

p. 68. graciously heard.

prayer, p. 35, 38.

A Temptatⁿ. p. 89.

1675.

1^m. 25^d. 1675. And is it so indeed? Doe I live to write any thing in y^e year 1675? Who could have thought yt it should have bin so, wn I was so near vnto death above five years agoe? Providence doth now put me vpoⁿ Humiliatioⁿ extraordinary; & yr is cause for it. 1. pticular e private. 1. For ye sins of ye year past. 2. My old sins. 3. The plagues of Hrť yt doe still abide me. 4. of late Times I have found more respect e esteem amongst men, e wth ye Lords servants yn formerly, how should ye consideration of yt mercy hu^mbly me, & break my Hrť! 2. As to ye p^ublyk state of things. 1. y^e Lords people in other pts are in a Low estate. deliverance is not yet come. 2. There are designs agt N. E. 3. The countrey is poor. Blessings on wheat. Trade dead, & ye customes in Barbados e Virginia very prjudicial to ye Trade of ys Countrey. 4. The Colledge is still desolate.

Requests to God in Christ. 1. As to y^e p^ublyk. 1. yt deliverance may arise for his people abroad. 2. yt N. E. may yet be owned by Him. 3. yt ys year may be crowned wth his goodness. 4. yt ye Colledge may be revived. 5. yt Boston may be prserved from Fires e from mortal diseases. [1]

As to pticular. 1. yt ye Ld wld be with me ys year also. owning me in my studyes. & in my ministry on Lds days e on Lecture days. 2. Blesse e give acceptance vnto w^t I am printing. 3. gvide as to ye Printing of ye sermon I prched ys day 7night.¹ 4. give more of his spirit to me. 5. Bless e pvide for me in my Family. Lord Jesus I comit these Requests into yi hands. Humbly begging for acceptance for yi sake, & for thine onely. Amen O Lord Amen!

A. M. Mr [William] Wooddrop prched.

P. M. The L^d assisted me in some measure both in prayr e sermon.

¹ This is an allusion to "The Wicked Man's Portion," a sermon preached on a Lecture Day, March 18, 1674, which is of additional interest as being the first known production from the press of John Foster, the pioneer printer of Boston.

26) A. M. Studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. Interrupted by visitors, yet Ld Helped to study a whole sermⁿ.

Afflicted wth a cold, w^h I thought I felt seyze vpoⁿ me yesterday as I was prhing, being hot, e a cold door open vpon me in ye meeting house. Head stopped. Throat sore. Aking pain in my thighs. yet a gentle afflictⁿ. I have not bin thankfull enough for Health, nor improved yt great mercy for ye hand of God, & good of others, as I might have done, yō ye L^d is righteous e gracious. [2]

27) A. M. prpd for sabbath. sic P. M. Examining Hrt e state, I was not altogether without Hopes yt ye L^d had given me grace, e some growth yrin. O for more of his spirit!

28) A. M. assisted beyond expectatⁿ in prching. some quicknings at L^{ds} Table. esptly in praying for children, yt god wld rbr [remember] his covt towards ym, saying, O Heavenly Father, did not Jesus Christ make His soul an offering for y^e sins of o^r children, as well as for o^r sins; did not c^t dy for o^r children as well as for vs, yō let c^t see his seed, let o^r poor children be converted, yt yy may glorify God wth vs, world without end in yt world yt is to come!

P. M. Mr Epps prched.

29) A. M. Transcribed pt of sermⁿ. P. M. visited several. [3]

30) Rode to Cambridge to visit Mr [Urian] Oakes who not well et At night wth mr [John] Higginsoⁿ at Mr [Richard] whartons et

31) A. M. Spent in discourse wh mr Higg. P. M. at mr [Peter] Th[acher] Lect. Transcribed pt of sermⁿ on eccl. 7. 17.

2^m. 1^d) A. M. studyed serm. After Lect wh elders et. Read Jacksons Recant

2) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. e transcribed sermⁿ on eccl. 7. 17.

3) prpd for sabbath.

4) A. M. Mr [Daniel] Gookin prhed. P. M. Ld enabled in prayr e sermon.

5) A. M. My Nath. taken ill wth vomiting & gripings. worms et. Transcribed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

6) Sat vp all night wth Nath. who continued ill. Towards morning God rebated ye Fever e ye pains w^h were vpoⁿ him. A. M. studyd sermⁿ. Nath. continuing ill, much hindred in my studyes.

7) A. M. Interrupted in studyes by Nats. illness. sic P. M. Little doe children think, wt affection is in ye Heart of a Father. Let ye L^d doe wth me e mine wt seemeth him good. I desire to Trust in his power e mercy. [4]

8) Nath. something better. A. M. studyed serm. After Lect. wth elders et. This day Nath. somewt revived.

9) In ye night my Samuel was taken very ill, e in a fever ys morning. & Nath. seemingly iller today yn yesterday. There hath bin much Health in my Family for a long time; & God has spared ye lives of

all my children, but I have not bin thankfull & humble as I should have bin, & therefore God is righteous in afflicting me. I have noth. to say but to ly down abased bef him, & let him doe wth me & mine as seemeth him good. onely I can not but Trust in him yt Hee will be gracious, for his owne Names sake. In prayr not altogether without Hope. could doe little at my study bec. of childrens sickness.

10) Sam mended (after I had wept e prayd for his life) vpoⁿ vsing sallad oyle e a clyster. This day I Fasted e prayd in my study, begging for ye Lives of my two sick children Nath. & Sam. [5]

As for Sam: His distempers were yn removed y^e Ld graciously dealing wth me, as in Isa : 65. 20. dan. 9. 23. Several argts came into my mind, w^h caused me to Hope yt God wld spare his life ; (& I pleaded ym bef ye Ld) one was, yt I had called his Name Samuel ovt of obedience to ye will of God, who requireth me to endeavor to keep vp ye Name & memory of my deceased brother. I thought ye Lord wld in him shew respect in ye Name of his blessed vncl. Also, in yt I had given him to God ye first day yt Hee came into ye world. Also I had prayed (wth Tears e some Faith) bef ys day, for him, yt God would give of yt spirit to ys child w^h did sometimes rest vpoⁿ his blessed vncl. His mother, e his Brother Cotton were wth me in my study after a day of secret Hu^miliatⁿ bef ye Lord, wn I thus prayed for ye child, all of vs weeping for him. Now I thought it might be some discouragedgt to Cotton in case Hee sld see yt his poor sinfull Fathers prayers, were not heard ; yō I humbly pleaded yt wth God.

As for Nathaniel, I had Hope yt God would spare him, ye rather bec. [6] yt child hath bin eminently saved fro^m destructⁿ e death, several times bef ys, w^h maketh me Hope, God hath some service for him to doe for his Name ; e yt Hee shall be an instru^ment of gods glory in his generatⁿ. Also (w^h is great mercy) I pceived yt ye Hr^ts of some Ctn friends were stirred vp to pray for that child w^h is a sign, ye Ld intends to Answer. Agñ, Jesus c^t hath bid yt children sld be brought to him yt Hee might bless ym, I yō brought ys child bef y^e Ld Jesus, & could not but Hope yt He would blesse him, even as ye matter doth require. I gave him vp to y^e Lord agñ, pleading, Lord Hee is yi child. Hee is not onely my child, but through yi wonderfull grace Hee is yi child, & wilt not thou shew mercy, to him, yt is become yi child? I put him into ye Lords hands, yt Hee wld blesse him both now & forever. So I hoped for mercy, & was inwardly satisfied in my owne spirit. [7]

11) Lds day. Nath. revived. A. M. I was put vpoⁿ prching beyond my expectatⁿ ; & God was wth my spirit very much. P. M. Rode to dorchester where Ld enabled me to Prch agñ.

Mr [George] Burroughs pching for me at Bostoⁿ.

12) This day Cous. Coney wth me, who wth many Tears told me

how much Hee was affected wth ye sermⁿ yesterday, saying I seemed to him as if I were come fro^m Heav. & yt Hee had much adoe to forbear crying out aloud in ye Meeting House as I was prching. I see by ys, yr was a special hand of God in disappointing me of other help & putting vpoⁿ prhing beyond my expectatⁿ, w^{ch} caused me to sit vp ye night bef ye sabbath till nigh 2h. A. M.

This day Nath. ill agñ iller agñ yn yesterday, to Try my Faith e svbmissⁿ to ye will of God.

13) This day Nath. much revived. His fever left him. Above 20 worms come fro^m him at times in ye sickness. studyed sermⁿ. [8]

14) A. M. prpd for Lecture. At Charls Town where day of publick thanksgiving, bec. of Lds goodness in hearing prayer, so as to return ye captives out of Turkish slavery in Sally [Sallee] &c.

15) Ld enabled in prhing Lecture at old church.¹ After Lect Read in Strong on 1 Cor. 3. 22 Burgess, dr Sibbs.

16) A. M. discourse wth Fellows about y^e colledge et. P. M. studyed sermⁿ.

17) prpd for sabbath.

18) A. M. Mr S. Danforth prched. P. M. Assisted in work bef me soli cto Laus!

19) At Cambridge on account of Corporation meeting, wn restored ye salary officers of ye colledge to places agñ.

20) studyed sermⁿ for church Fast, till night

21) prption for church Fast. Causes of Humiliation 1. private. old sins. prsent pgs [progress]. My weakness & deficiency in respect of gifts. My Sam. not well ys day. Publick. 1. Backward spring. The weather vnseasonable. 2. [9] The churches (esply yt to w^{ch} I am related) in a low condition. 3. There are scandalous reports of some m^{brs} belonging to ys church, w^{ch} is matter of great Humiliatⁿ. 4. There like to be a Famin in Virginia, & amongst o^rselves, if Ld be not mercyfull. Requests to God in ct. 1. That Hee wld in his owne Time send a further supply as to ye Ministry in ys church. 2. Be mercifull as to ye season. As to my selfe 1. give more grace & enlarge ye gifts of his spirit. 2. yt his prsence may be wth me, in work I am called to. In Labors in writing, e in my ministry on Lds days e Lecture days. 3. wisdom to goe in e out bef his people, over whom Hee hath set me; Amen. O God in christ Jesus Amen!

This day carried on comfortably. The Ld enabled me to pray to begin e end wth prayr, e to prch 2 ho^{rs}. The rest of ye Time spent in prayr by ye Brethren. At evening called Br. Sunderland to account et

My Sam. not so ill at night as in y^e morning [10]

¹ Meeting-house of the First Church, then standing on what is now known as Washington Street, near the head of State Street. The allusion is to the regular Thursday lecture.

22) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. wh elders. dined at C[aptain Thomas]. Lakes et studyed sermⁿ.

23) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. e discourse wth friends.

24) prpd for sabbath. examining selfe. Hope yt grace e some growth yrin wrought in soul

25) A. M. Assisted in some measure. some quickenings at Lds supp, pleading bef ye Lord, yo art o^r Father, e wee are yi children. Lord take vs into yi arms e keep vs by yi power through Faith vnto salvation. Wee cast o^r selvs into yi Armes, O o^r Father. If children cast yms. into ye Armes of yir Father, will not Hee take ym into his Armes. wee yi children doe so this day!

P. M. Mr Epps prched.

26) At Cambridge where Corporatⁿ mett about ye Colledge affairs.

27) A. M. Scripsi catechismu^m dialecticu^m P. M. Read in poli. 3^d vol. Visited several. [11]

28) A. M. Finished Log. catech. After Lect. dined wth Mr [Peter] Th[acher]. &c.

29) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. dined wth Magistrates &c.

30) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. e dē Admonitio &c.

3^m. 1^d prpd for sabbath.

2) A. M. Mr Corlet prched. P. M. Ld assisted in work bef me. Admonished Br. Sunderland.

3) A. M. Transcribed Admonitⁿ. P. M. discourse wth Governor [John Leverett], mr Bradstreet &c. about ye colledge.

At evening met wth br. Sunderland, who sd yt he hardly dealt wth; That Hee had wronged Himselfe by confessing more yn Hee should doe, And Hee sd yt Hee was not Foresworn. So yt ye effect w^{ch} y^e ordinance of Admonitⁿ seems to have vpoⁿ him, is yt his Heart is more hardned. O ye Ld pittie him. [12]

4) A. M. spke several yt wounded by ye powder w^{ch} blew vp forpt of vessel, w^{ch} came in ys day fro^m Virginia. P. M. This pvidence put vpoⁿ alteratⁿ of Intention, dē subject thought to have pched on &c.

5) A. M. prayd wth Capt. Scarlet¹ who dying by reas. of ye wound recd yesterday by ye Blow et. His Leg, arm &c. Broken, inwardly bruised, prayd wth 5 other men who sorely wounded by same stroke. P. M. studyed sermⁿ. At Funeral of mr Smith who killed yesterday by blow wh powder in ship &c.

6) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After leet. wth elders, e at mr [John] Freakes Funeral.²

¹ Captain Samuel Scarlet commanded a vessel hailing from Lyme, Connecticut, which was blown up in Boston Harbor just after her arrival from Virginia. For particulars of the explosion, see Sewall's Diary (I. 10) and Hull's Diary in the "Archæologia Americana" (III. 240).

² Mr. Freake was killed by the explosion on the vessel two days before. His widow afterward married Elisha Hutchinson.

7) A. M. discourse wh Neph. Sam. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. at C. [Samuel] Scarlets Funeral et.

8) prpd for sabbath. Troubled bec. I heard yt my dear Brother Nath. was sick in Ireland, e not likely to Live except removed fro^m yer. But after went to Mr. Rawsons to read his daughters Ire who wrote dē my brother, I was refreshed, bec. she doth not say, yt Hee dangerously ill. Onely yt had bin often troubled wth flux since in Ireland, e at yt Time (w^{ch} was in Janry) worse yn formerly. Yet Hoped Hee might doe well. However ys [13] ys p^rvidence calls vpoⁿ me to prpe for his death, & for my owne too, esply considering yt yesterday I heard that mr John Thomsoⁿ (my brother Nath. e Hee married 2 sisters) who was my special acquaintance wn I was in E. was dead in Bristol, by ye cruel vsage of ye Bishops. Who knoweth but yt I may live vntill called to dy for, Christ e for his Truth. The Lord prpe me. If things go on a while Longer in E. I am like to be Tried, whither I Love ye Truth indeed or no.

9) A. M. Neph. Sam. phed. P. M. L^d assisted me in some measure in y^e work w^{ch} Hee called me to.

10) A. M. Discourse wh friends. P. M. Transcribed sermⁿ.

11) A. M. Transcribed sermⁿ. P. M. visited several &c.

12) Day of electⁿ. wth elders, & at governors &c. Mr. [Joshua] Moodey prhd ye electⁿ sermⁿ, And Hee prhd on a Text w^{ch} for some years I have designed to ph of, & thought to doe it in ye old-meeting House in Bostⁿ, but am now prvented. I am vnworthy to be improved in doing service for ye Rising generatⁿ. Alas I have bin too slow in endeavors to accomplish wt I wld doe. [14]

13) The whole day spent in discourse wh elders at mr. [Peter] Thachers, et.

At evening finished Transcriptⁿ of sermⁿ.

14) This day almost wholly taken vp wth visitors &c. onely visited mrs Davenport et.

15) Finished e corrected sermⁿ on psal. 31. 15 &c.¹

16) A. M. my Br. J. C.² prhed. P. M. My Br. S. C.² prched.

17) A. M. studyed sermon. P. M. visited several.

18) A M studyed sermⁿ. P. M. read Clark of psecutors.

¹ This is the sermon "occasioned by that awfull Providence which hapned in Boston in New-England the 4th day of the 3^d Moneth 1675. (when part of a Vessel was blown up in the Harbour, and nine men hurt, and three mortally wounded) wherein is shewed how we should sanctifie the dreadfull Name of God under such awfull Dispensations." The sermon was preached probably on Sunday, May 23, and was printed by John Foster. It is supposed to be the second earliest imprint from Foster's press, now extant.

² These initial letters refer to John Cotton and Seaborn Cotton, both sons of John Cotton, the well-known minister of the First Church, and brothers-in-law of Increase Mather.

19) A M studied sermⁿ. P. M. read Bates Vocatio et

20) A. M. studied sermⁿ After Lect. wh elders et

21) Fasted e prayd in my study. Hopes of mercy through ye sufferings e merits of Jesus!

22) prpd for sabbath.

Examining selfe. Hopes yt grace e some growth yrin wrought in my Hrt. O Lord Increase it. [15]

23) God enabled me to prch both pts of ye day, e also to administer ye Lds supp; & carried me comfortably through all. O wonderful grace manifested to a vile sinner!

24) wrote epte bef sermⁿ on ps. 31. 15 P. M. catechised children Read Cabinet of Mirth et.

25) A. M. studied sermⁿ. sic P. M.

26) A. M. studied sermⁿ. After Lect wh elders at mr [Peter] Thachers et.

27) A. M. Interrupted by visitors yt could doe little at my study. After Lect wh elders. And at Governors. studied sermⁿ.

28) A. M. studied sermⁿ. P. M. Rode to Cambridge where discoursed with mr Oakes.¹ expressed to him my resentm^t of reflectⁿs vpon me by some of scholars, as if I desired presidentship &c. Hee sd none thought (for yy knew I might have yt if wld) yt I desired presidentship in Cambridge onely some were affraid, yt I designed such a thing by bringing Colledge to B. Hee owned yt Hee had sd yt I not so plain-told as Hee had thought, but prayed me not to be troubled; e yt I must bear wth yir Jealousy bec. it a matter of great concert^t &c. pfessed his desires yt I might be at Cambridge et. [16]

29) prpd for sabbath.

30) A. M. Ld enabled in pching e prayr beyond expectatⁿ P. M. Mr Eps prched.

31) visited several. Read in Franzius History of Brutes. et.

1^d. 4^m) A. M. studied sermⁿ. P. M. Read in Franzius history of Brutes.

2) A. M. studied sermⁿ. P. M. visited several. studied sermⁿ.

3) A. M. studied sermⁿ. P. M. wth elders. studied sermⁿ.

4) A. M. studied sermⁿ. sic P. M.

5) prpd for sabbath.

6) ye Ld graciously enabled me in prayr & prhing both pts of ye day. To him alone be prayse forever!

7) Artillery electⁿ. After sermⁿ dined wth sovlders. After yt wth some of elders at Mr [Peter] Thachers [17]

8) A. M. studied sermⁿ. sic P. M.

9) prpd for Lecture.

10) Ld enabled in prhing e prayr.

¹ Urian Oakes, at this time Acting President of Harvard College.

After Lect. wth elders. discourse about Dyars reviling fre to me &c. Methinks, I have Faith to believe yt God will blesse me ye more, bec. of those revilings. Blessed are ye, wⁿ speake all maner of evill of you falsely. so yy did by ye pphets. O yt ye Lord wld Teach me to pfit by his dispensations. And if I must be reproached, Let it be by such men as Dyar is.

11) Studyed sermⁿ. onely much interrupted wth visitors.

12) prpd for sabbath.

13) A. M. Mr [Daniel] Gookin prhd. P. M. Assisted in some measure

14) A. M. wth Governor. dined wh comitte^e at Turners. P. M. visited several. [18]

15) A. M. read Voeti^{us} de merito cti. P. M. wth S[amuel]. Gyle¹ in prison to counsil him for his soul et.

16) Fasted e prayd in my study.

At evening after ye last prayr, God melted my Heart, yea inwardly moved me very much. so as yt I believed God had heard me. And pticularly, dē dyer ye enemy of ct e of N. E. who hath lately sent a reviling fre to me, I comitted yt matter to God, being psvaded, yt ye Ld will in due time take yt enemy to doe, & vindicate my poor Name, yt I may not be ye reproach of ye Foolish. I am yō resolved by his grace to endeav^r to walk more closely wth him yn ever I did. Amen! O Lord Amen!

17) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect wth elders. & at mr Stoddards et.

18) A. M. mr danforth was wh me, desiring yt I wld not lay down my Fellowship. pfessing yt those Reports about reflections on me in Cambridge were slanders e falsehoods. e desiring yt I wld not believe ym. And yt if I wld accept of ye Presidentship, it wld be selfe denial et P. M. studyed sermⁿ. wh condemned prisoners. [19]

19) prpd for sabbath. examining selfe, Had hopes yt grace e some growth yrin wrought in my soul.

20) A. M. Assisted in phing e prayr. some quicknings at Lds Table. esptly in praying for much of ye spirit of ct saying, Ld wee have one argt to pseed wth yn, & it is a great one, e wont to be a prvayling argt, tht is yi owne Name. If yo wilt give vs much of ye spirit of ct, wee shall yn bring much glory to yi great Name

P. M. Mr Epps prhed.

21) A. M. Transcribed sermⁿ. dined wh Troops. P. M. Wth condemned Prisoners.

22) A. M. discourse wth friends. P. M. at mr [Peter] Th[acher]. e wh Governor about prisoners so yt time miserably lost as to my study.

¹ Samuel Giles, of Haverhill. See Sewall's Diary (I. 7) for an allusion to the case.

This day my Cotton went to live at ye Colledge. The God of all grace be wth him & never leave nor forsake him, but bless him, e make him a blessing whereever Hee shall bee Amen! [20]

23) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth mr [Peter] Thacher et.

24) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. e wth condemned prisoners.

25) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

26) prpd for sabbath.

27) A. M. prhed at old chvrh. graciously assisted. Mr Corlet prhed for me A. M. & Mr Jos. Eliot P. M.

28) prpd for publick Fast.

29) Causes of Humiliatⁿ ys day. 1. My old sins. 2. prsent pgs. Unsuitable trade of spirits to ye sad awfull dispensatoⁿs of pvidence. 3. Troubles like to come on N. E. fro^m abroad. 4. The Indians are vp in armes having killed 7 english men e burnt 20 Houses in swansey. Requests to God in ct. 1. That more of his spirit may given to me, as to gifts e graces. 2 yt his prsence may be wth me fro^m day to day. 3. yt Hee wld lengthen our days of Tranquility. 4. subdue ye Heathen, blessing prsent expeditⁿ for yt end. [21]

A. M. Ld assisted in prhing e prayr P. M. my Br. [Solomon] Stoddard [of Northampton] prhed.

30) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. at Governors & wh condemned prisoners &c.

5^m. 1^d) Called out of my bed bef day to pray wth mrs Hodges. she died bef I got thither. wn I lived vnder ye same roof wth her 6 years agoe, it was not likely yt I shld out Live her. O yt God wld help me to Improve my Time.

Wth severall to endeavor yt condemned prisoners might be Reprieved. After Lect. wh elders et.

2) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

3) prpd for sabbath.

4) Ld assisted in his work, both pts of day.

5) A. M. Read comēts in Isai. 42. 24. discourse wh mr [Peter] Th[acher]. e mr Sh. P. M. read comēts in Isai. et

6) A. M. studyed serm. At chvrch-meeting about Br Sunderland &c. [22]

7) A. M. Read in Rutherford dē drawing to ct. In Nort. orthod. evang. Ames. de prptⁿe precatoris et. sic P. M.

8) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. visited severall. Read in Owen of ye spirit et.

9) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. & read varios Libr.

10) prpd for sabbath.

11) A. M. Mr Corlet prhed. P. M. Ld Assisted in his work.

12) A. M. discourse wth friends. dined wth Governor. P. M. Read dē Morte cti &c.

13) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

14) Fasted e prayed in my study ; And prpd for Lecture.

15) A. M. prpd for Lect. Ld did in some measure assist. blessed be his Name. After Lect. wth elders & wth mr. Jos. Eliot et [23]

16) A. M. visited several. P. M. at mrs Shrimptons burial. studyed sermⁿ. Though much hinderd by Trouble at Cottons¹ being abused by John Cotton, & some other scholars at ye Colledge.

17) prpd for sabbath.

discourse wth J. C. et Hee sd to me yt Those of overseers yt wld brake yt custome of sending errands, did not seek ye psyng of Colledge.

At evening examining selfe, hopes yt Ld hath given Faith e Rep.

18) A. M. Not so enlarged as at some Times, nor so quicknd at Lds Table. P. M. mr epps prhed.

19) A. M. discourse wh friends. dined at Mr. Deans. P. M. Transcribed sermⁿ. Read on Rev. 2. 24.

20) A. M. studyed sermon. sic P. M.

21) Day of Hu^miliatⁿ in 3d churh

22) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. studyed sermⁿ.

23) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

24) prpd for sabbath. [24]

25) Assisted in some measure in work of Ld, bth pts of day.

26) Rode to Cambridge where discoursd wth mr danforth² & Mr Okes² about taking Cotton fro^m Colledge et yy were loth yt sld doe it, yet could not give satisfactory answere to my Reasons.

27) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. Read Willisius de Memoriâ

28) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. Read Autores dē Conviction.

29) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders et.

30) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. At Charles Towne Lecture. et

31) prpd for sabbath.

6^m 1^d) A. M. Ld assisted in his work. P. M. rode to dorchester (Mr. [Josiah] Flint being sick) where Ld enabled in prayr. e sermⁿ. To him above be prayse. [25]

2) A. M. discourse wh friends e wth J. C. dined wth Magistrates. P. M. read on Rev. 2. 25.

3) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. read in Carter on Heb. 1. 1. & pagets Chnography.

4) A. M. studyd sermⁿ. P. M. read in Bridges on Luk. 17. 37. et Clarks examples

¹ At this time Cotton Mather was near the end of his Freshman year, Commencement coming on August 10; and John Cotton was his cousin and classmate. Apparently he returned to college on June 22 (see entry of that date); and perhaps this allusion is to some hazing by the older scholars.

² Samuel Danforth, one of the Fellows of Harvard College, and Urian Oakes, Acting President.

5) A. M. read de satisfactⁿe eti. After Lect. wth elders. Read vt pri^{us}. discourse wth Mr P[eter] T[hacher]

6) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M

7) prpd for sabbath.

8) A. M. assisted in some measure in prayr e sermⁿ. P. M. Br J. C. pched.

9) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

10) At Com^mencemnt at Cambridge

11) prpd for day of Hu^miliatⁿ Ill wth vomiting e purging. [26]

12) grounds of Hu^miliatⁿ.

1. My old sins. 2. prsent p^gs. 3. The sad conditⁿ w^{ch} N. E. is now in by reason of ye Heathen, who have killed many & desolated several Plantations. 4. My Family (e selfe) visited wth illnesses. sad colds e coughs on all my children esp^y my youngest.

Humble Requests to God in Jesus Christ. 1. For doning mercy, e more grace to see him as I ought to doe. 2. That Hee wld prserve those yt are gone to warr ag^t y^e Indians, causing his enemies to Fall bef. him. sanctifying yes awfull dispensatⁿs of his Holy p^rvidence. 3. prserve Boston fro^m destructⁿ by fire, e fro^m mortal diseases. 4. Looke vpoⁿ my Family. Healing ye children yt are out of case, esp^y Healing yer sinfull n^res, by ye blood of ct, supplying all my wants &c. Amen ! O Lord Amen !

This day of Hu^miliatⁿ in old Meeting-House in Boston. A. M. I was so ill I could not goe abroad. Mr Sherman e mr [John] Allin carried on ye work. P. M. ye Ld enabled me to goe abroad, & assisted in pching beyond expectatⁿ. Mr [Thomas] Cobbet prayed. Lord Answered ! [27]

13) A. M. Wrote answer to H. G. pap. sic P. M.

14) prpd for sabbath. Examining selfe, could not find any sins w^{ch} I was not (if hrt deceived me not) willing to pt wth. Hopes yt some growth in grace. Ld for more grace.

15) Mr Higginson prched both pts of ye day : yet I prched near an ho^r to ye church alone bef Administratⁿ of Lds supper. some quicknings at ye ordinance, though not so much as at many Times.

16) A. M. read com^ment. in 2 K. 13. P. M. wth Mr Allen et. studyed sermⁿ.

17) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. Read in Clarks examp. Triumph of Low Countreys et.

18) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. discourse wth br. J. C. At Governors.

19) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. dined at Mr. Allins et.

20) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. visited several.

21) prpd for sabbath.

- 22) A. M. Ld assisted in his work. P. M. br J. C. pched.
- 23) A. M. read de vsu globi. sic P. M. [28]
- 24) A. M. read in Firmin real Chn. P. M. discourse wth mr Walley. Read in Clark examples.
- 25) At Fast in Charles Town
- 26) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. Read in Clarkes examples.
- 27) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.
- 28) prpd for sabbath.
- 29) A. M. Ld assisted in phing e praying. P. M. Mr Walley pched.
- 30) studyed sermⁿ. Read in Clarkes Examples
- 31) prpd for day of Hu^miliatⁿ.
- 7^m. 1^d) Grounds of Hu^miliatⁿ. private. 1. old sins. 2. prsent p^gs. 3. Vnpfitableness. Publick. 1. ch^ts in E. et. in suffering conditⁿ. 2. In N. E. expeditⁿ ag^t Indians, vnsuccessfull. 3. Many children in Boston sick. The storm yt hapned lately, has bin prejudicial to many. Requests to Ld. private. 1. yt his prsence may be wth me in my ministry. e in further opening ep^ty to churches. 2. yt ornament of meeke e quiet spirit may be bestowed on me. publick. 1 For deliverance of church out of Trouble. 2. success as to expeditioⁿ ag^t Heathen. Amen, O Ld Amen! [29]
- day of Humiliatⁿ in o^r Church. A. M. I prayd e pched e mr Thacher prayed. P. M. Mr Allen prayed. & I pched e prayd. Ld graciously assisted.
- 2) A. M. Read Co^ment on Revel. 2. 26. After lect. ye Corporatⁿ met in Bostⁿ about Colledge affairs et.
- At B. Wilkins marriage et.
- 3) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.
- 4) prpd for sabbath.
- 5) A. M. M^r Corlet pched. P. M. Ld assisted me in prching e in prayr.
- 6) A Cambridge at Corporatⁿ meeting. I told you I not willing to continue as Fellow any longer, bec. I had bin so abused in C. & yt yy yms. had dealt so wth me as was grievous, sc. in calling ye scholars together to enquire of ym who told tales to me et Mr Okes sd Hee knew noth. of it, but was Troubled wn Hee heard of it. The other 2 young men, mr Gookin e Thacher, Justified yir actings. At night I spoke wh ye Governor about it, who sd it was not to be suffered. As I p^ted wh Mr Okes, I told him, if it wld grieve him, I wld [30] not lay down my Fellowship as yet, bec. I wld practise selfe-denial et. so we p^ted very lovingly et.
- 7) A. M. visited several. P. M. Read dē satisfacione cti.
- 8) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

- 9) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. wth elders. visited several.
- 10) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. e read de vsu globi.
- 11) Fasted e prayed in my study. And prpd for sabbath.
- 12) A. M. Ld assisted in prching e prayr. Quickenings at Lds Table. P. M. Mr. Eppes prched.
- 13) A. M. discourses wth several. P. M. visited several. wth S. Gile in prison who condemned to dy on account of Rape.
- 14) A. M. Transcribed sermⁿ. P. M. read dr Goodwins sermoⁿs. et
- 15) A M studyed sermⁿ. After Lect wh condemned prisoners et [31]
- 16) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders, e Magistrates wth wm dined at Townhouse et. studyed sermⁿ.
- 17) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. Read in Clarkes examples et.
- 18) prpd for sabbath.
- 19) Ld assisted in his work both pts of ye day.
- 20) A. M. Discourse wth friends. dined wth soulders. P. M. Read in Firmin Real chn
- 21) A. M. wrote fres to E. P. M. studyd sermon.
- 22) Ill wth sickness at stomach, and Lax.
- 23) A. M. studyd sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. dined wth Comissioners.
- 24) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. Corrected M.SS. in answer to H. G.
- 25) prpd for sabbath.
- 26) A. M. graciously assisted. P. M. my br J. C. prched. [32]
- 27) studyd sermⁿ for ye ensuing day.
- 28) A day of Hu^miliatⁿ amongst ye Comissioners of Vnited Colonies. A. M. Mr Eliot e mr Thacher pched e prayed. P. M. Mr Allen e mr Shepd prayed, e I pched e prayed y^e Ld did Help. God was graciously prsent.
- 29) A. M. Interrupted by visitors et P. M. studyed sermⁿ. Read in Clark 2. vol.
- 30) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. overseers of Colledge met. Octr 1. 8^m.) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. dined wth Comissioners of vnited Colonies. P. M. visited several. studyed sermⁿ.
- 2) prpd for sabbath.
- 3) A. M. my Br. J. C. prched. P. M. Ld assisted in his worke in some measure.
- 4) A. M. Interrupted wh visitors. P. M. studyed sermⁿ.
- 5) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.
- 6) prpd for Fast et [33]
- 7) grounds of Hu^miliatⁿ bef ye Ld. private. 1. old sins. 2. prsent pgs. 3. vnsuccessfullness of my Labors. I doe but cumber ye ground. O ye patience of God, yt I am not cutt down. 4. Some Touches of Gods hand in my Family of late by sickness. Colds, Fluxes, et. Pub-

lick. N. E. is in ye most Lamentable state yt ever was. The Indians risen almost round ye countrey. God doth not goe forth wth o^r Armies. Many cutt off by ye enemy. There like to be scarcity of pvision. Some speake as if ye spotted Fever were in Boston. No Reformation wrought by yes Judgts. The Colledge agⁿ likely to Fall. In E. things are in a very sad posture.

Requests to God in Jesus Christ. That Hee wld sanctify yes Judgts to ye Countrey.

psy forces in yir expedition agt ye Heathen. Restore peace e plenty.

As to private concerns. 1. give more of his spirit to me. 2. prsence in private studyes, e publick services. 3. Bless my Family wth Health e gracious supplies, as yr shall be need.

Amen! Holy Lord God Amen!

A. M. Ld graciously assisted me in pching & in prayr

P. M. my br J. C. prhed

8) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. [34]

9) prpd for sabbath.

Examining selfe, Hopes yt grace e some growth yrin wrought in my soul.

10) A. M. graciously assisted in pching e in prayr, And quickned at Lds Table.

11) A. M. Read Co^ments in Rev. 2 27. P. M. Read in R. Wards politick strategy. studyed sermⁿ.

12) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. dined wh Co^missioners at C[aptain Thomas]. Lakes. A. M. at Funeral of mr davyes child.

13) prpd for Lect. Visited several sick psons. discourses wth several yt visited me et

14) A. M. prpd for Lect. I prayed wth Tears in my study, bef I went to prch, yt ye Ld wld be wth me, & owne e bless my Labors for glory to his name, e so as to cause Reformatⁿ of those things w^{ch} are displeasing to him in ye Countrey. God was wth me in his worke. gave me acceptance beyond expectatⁿ; & I hope will cause ye Magistrates e deputies (ye General Court now sitting) to consider of wt was sd to ym, e to endeavo^r a Reformatⁿ of evils, yt God may turn fro^m his displeasure. Amen e Amen! [35]

15) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. visited several yt sick. studyed sermⁿ.

16) prpd for sabbath.

17) A. M. Ld assisted. P. M. My br. J. C. pched.

18) Mett wth Co^mitee appointed by ye General Court to consider about Reformatⁿ of those evils w^{ch} pvoke Ld agt N. E.

19) A. M. wth Co^mittee. P. M. visited several sick psons.

20) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. Read in Clarkes Examples

- 21) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders et
- 22) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. Read in Revi^s de Capillitio &c.
- 23) prpd for sabbath. Read in Revi^s et
- 24) A. M. graciously Assisted. P. M. My Br. J. C. prched.
- 25) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. visited several. Read de Capillitio.
- 26) Read co^men^ts in Rev. 2. 28. ys day road fro^m dorchester et.
P. M. discourse wh friends. Read variores Autores et [36]
- 27) A. M. read in Libris philosoph. de stellis et sic P. M.
- 28) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. at Meeting of overseers of Colledge.
- 29) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. at mr Cutts Funeral.
- 30) prpd for sabbath.
- 31) A. M. Ld assisted in his work. P. M. my br. J. C. prched.
- 9^m. 1^d) studyed sermⁿ.
- 2) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. read varios Autores.
- 3) Fasted e prayd in my study not altogether without Hope of gracious acceptance through Jesus et.
- 4) A. M. discourse wh visitors et. After Lect wh elders. dined at mr Th[acher]. et.
- 5) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. e read goodwin on Eph. 8. 16.
- 6) prpd for sabbath. Examining selfe Hope yt grace wrought in soul, e some growth yrin [37]
- 7) A. M. my br. J. C. prched. Some quicknings at Lds Table.
P. M. graciously assisted in pching e prayr, though had bin Ill ye night bef. wth gripings et yt affraid, I sld not have bin able to prh.
- 8) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.
- 9) Fasted e prayed in my study e prpd for Lecture.
- 10) Prched ye Lecture at y^e New-Meeting House.¹ graciously assisted me in ye morning as I was sitting alone in my study, I was suddenly moved by ye spirit of God, e wonderfully melted into Tears, wth a firm pswasion yt God would make me his mouth, & owne ye words I sld speak, in his name, so as yt much good sld be done yrby: Amen dear Lord Jesus!
- 11) A. M. visited several After Lect. wh elders. studyed sermⁿ.
- 12) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. e read in Twiss ag^t Hoard e de scientia Mediâ.
- 13) prpd for sabbath. [38]
- 14) A. M. mr Corlet pched. P. M. graciously assisted.
- 15) A. M. discourse wh friends. P. M. visited several. Read in Reynolds e Sibs on Hos. 14.
- 16) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. Read Parei orationes.
- 17) At Cambridge where elders mett to discourse of Reformatⁿ &c.

¹ Meeting-house of the Third Church, now better known as the "Old South," corner of Milk and Washington Streets.

18) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders &c. discourse wh
mr. Brinsmead¹ who Lodged wth me et

19) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

20) prpd for sabbath.

21) A. M. Rode to dorchester. Ld there assisted in prhing. mr
Philips pched for me. P. M. mr Eppes.

22) A. M. discourses wth friends. P. M. studyed sermⁿ.

23) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. e Read in Clark Vanity of
earthly things.

24) prpd for Lecture [39]

25) A. M. prpd for Lect. P. M. Ld graciously assisted in pching
e prayr. After Lect. dined wth mr Allin. Read Tollisⁿ of ye
Jews et

26) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. read in Clarkes examples.

27) prpd for sabbath. Called out of my bed to pray with dr. Hoar
who near vnto death. Hee desired me to take his Nephew John
Hoar² vnder my Tuitioⁿ, e to write to his Father, if Hee wld be Rec-
onciled to his son et

28) A. M. mr P. Thacher pched. P. M. Ld assist in his worke.

29) A. M. studyed sermⁿ sic P. M.

30) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. visited several sick e afflicted.
Read in Clark exam.

10^m. 1^d) prpd for day of Hu^miliatⁿ in Publick.

2) Grounds of Hu^miliatⁿ bef ye Lord. private. 1. My old sins.
2. Prsent p^gs. pride, sensuality, sloth, Hardness of Hrt. Not affected
wth ye miserable state of N. E. as yr is cause for. 3. deficiency as
[40] as to gifts. 4. The vnsuccessfullness of my labors. I doe little
good in my generation. 5. The Reproaches w^h some cast vpon me.

As to Publick. 1. N. E. is in a most lamentable state by Reasoⁿ
of yt warr wth ye Indians. Famine like to ensue. Trading dead &c
2. The Ld hath lifted vp his hand ag^t Boston, in yt ye small pox hath
bin in ye harbor. And a very mortal contagious Fever in ys Town e
in other places in ye country.

Requests to God in ct. 1. yt Hee wld psy ye expeditⁿ ag^t ye
Heathen. going forth wth Armies. 2. prserve Boston fro^m fires e deso-
lating Judg^ts.

give more of his spirit to me, respecting gifts e graces. Be present
wth me in studyes, e in Publick Labors. guide as to ye course of
my ministry fro^m Time to Time. Amen! dearest Lord, & Heavenly
Father! Amen!

¹ Rev. William Brinsmead, of Marlborough. See Proceedings (second series,
IV. 298-302).

² See Historical Collections (fourth series, VIII. 571, 572), for a few lines
about the nephew.

ys publick Fast Mr Corlet prhed A. M. Ld graciously assisted me P. M. in praying e in pching. [41]

3) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

4) prpd for sabbath. examining selfe. Hopes yt grace e some growth yrin wrought in my soul. Lord give more.

5) A. M. Not so enlarged as at some Times nor quickened at Lds Table. The seasoⁿ cold e my Hrt like it I find yt outward things will discompose ye spirit. yea outward heat et cold in extreme. P. M. Mr. Brinsmead prhed.

6) A. M. Rode pt of way to Braintree whither dr Hoars body was carried ys day to be interred. P. M. Read in Owen et Theol.

7) A. M. Read in Owen Theol. Hist. dined wth comissioners at Mr dayes visited mrs davenport et.

8) A. M. read in Owen. P. M. After Lect. wh elders et

9) A. M. studyed sermⁿ After Lect. wh elders, & at br. [Richard] Collicots et. studyed sermⁿ

10) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

11) prpd for sabbath. [42]

12) Graciously assisted in ye Lds work in ye former, but esply in ye latter pt of ye day.

13) A. M. wrote frs to E. P. M. Read comēnts in Rev. 3. 1.

14) A. M. discourse wh friends P. M. studyed sermⁿ. Read in Clarkes 2 vol.

15) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. & read in diverse Authors et

16) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. dined wh mr Thacher. studyed sermⁿ.

17) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

18) prpd for sabbath.

19) A. M. Mr Foster¹ pched for me. P. M. assisted in some measure though not as at many Times.

20) A. M. Read Jos. Alleyns cases Resolved et P. M. read in Owen de Theol & in Clarkes examples. [43]

21) A. M. read in Elias Levita. P. M. Read Buxtorf. Lex. Thalmud.

22) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. discourse wth mr Brinsmead who Lodged here. Read in Clarkes exa^mples

23) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. Read in Clarkes exa^mples.

24) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

25) prpd for sabbath.

26) A. M. mr Burroughs pched. P. M. graciously assisted in prayr e sermⁿ

27) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

¹ Perhaps Rev. Isaac Foster.

28) Fasted e prayed in my study, not altogether without Hopes of gracious acceptance through Jesus Christ.

29) prpd for Lecture.

30) Ld graciously assisted me in pching y^e Lecture. After Lect. dined wh mr Allin. studyed sermⁿ.

31) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. Read in Clarks examples. [44]

11^m. 1^d) prpd for sabbath. examining selfe, hopes yt grace e some growth yrin wrought in my soul. Lord! more grace!

2) An extreme cold day. H. not such quicknings of affectⁿ as at other times, & neither in pching nor at Lds supp P. M. Mr Norton ¹ prched.

3) A. M. Read in Fenner Alarm. P. M. studyed sermⁿ. but interrupted in studies by sore throat et

4) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. reviewd M.SS. in answer of H. G. Read on Clarkes examples

5) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. Read Leigh of Colledges.

6) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect wh elders. & at mr Thachers, visited his daughter et

7) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. Read on Clark.

8) A. M. prpd for sabbath.

9) A. M. Mr Epps prched. P. M. graciously assisted. [45]

10) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. Read in Clarkes examples

11) studyed sermⁿ. Read in Clark

12) prpd for day of Hu^miliation.

13) Causes of Hu^miliatⁿ bef ye Lord.

As to Publick concerns. 1. The sword is not yet put vp into ye scabbard. 2. The Army hath recd a rebuke in yt 6 captains have bin lately slain at once. 3 There are sad diseases e terrible in ye countrey. e. g. At Plymouth yr is a Malignant Fever yt is very Mortal. At Glocester ye small pox is in several Families. diverse already dead yr. 4. Boston is vnder awfull tokens of divine displeasure. several dead (e many sick still) of yt Fever. yea e ye small pox is now come into ye Town. one dyed yesterday yrby. [As to private concerns. 1. My old sins. 2. plagues of Hr^t. 3. vnthankfullness for special fav^r. God has continued Health to me e mine. God hath pvided for me in yes difficult Times but alas I have not bin thankfull as I sld have bin] 5. There fears of an approaching Famin. 6. Reformatioⁿ doth not goe forward. Magistrates too slow in yt matter. [46] Humble Requests to God in ct As to Publick. 1. That ye Armes may be prserved. The Ld keep ym fro^m ys Terrible disease of ye small pox. And Rebuke ye Heathen. 2. Heale his people. 3. In special, Let ye Lord have compassⁿ vpon Boston; & suff not 'ys disease to spread

¹ Rev. John Norton, of Hingham.

here. Enemies are risen vp agt vs; & yō Let not ye Compassionate God, rise vp agt vs too at ye same Time. 4. sanctify yes Judgts, so as to cause a Reformatⁿ of evils.

As to private. 1. The Lord give more of his spirit to me. 2. Be prsent wth me, in ye worke I am called vnto. 3. Bless my poor sinfull Family & continue Health yrin.

I trust in christ, my Lord e my God, for a gracious Answer.

Amen! Holy Lord God, Amen!

A. M. Mr Peter Thacher prched. P. M. Ld graciously assisted me a sinfull creature, in prayr e sermon. [47]

14) A. M. Read Hieron of Pliny. P. M. studied sermⁿ.

15) prpd for sabbath.

16) A. M. Mr Corlet prhed. P. M. Not so enlarged as at some times.

17) A. M. Read J. d. notes. P. M. read in Firmins Chn et Life of Richard 3.

18) A. M. Read comēnts in Leu. 18. 3. et P. M. visited several. studied sermⁿ.

19) A. M. studied sermⁿ. P. M. Read dr Hoares¹ catalogue et.

20) A. M. studied sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders &c.

21) A. M. visited several. wth mr Hains about Gorges Patent. P. M. Looked over Bookes in dr Hoars study et studied sermⁿ at night

22) prpd for sabbath. [48]

23) A. M. Mr Fletcher² pched P. M. graciously assisted in work of Ld.

24) A. M. studied sermⁿ. P. M. in dr Hoars Library.

25) Fastd e prayed in my study. e studied pt of sermⁿ for Lecture.

26) prpd for Lect. Read in Alsted et

27) A. M. prpd for Lect. graciously assisted in Lds work. After Lect. dined wth ye Magistrates where ye Governor reflected on me, on ye account of some passages in my sermⁿ. viz. yt strangers sd, yt yy had seen more drunkennes in N. E. in halfe a year yn in E. in all yir lives. Hee sd yt yy yt sd so lyed. And yt yr was more drunkennes in N. E. many years agoe yn yr is now, yea at ye first beginning of ys Colony. Mr. Stoughton Replyed pleasantly, yt I must pch a Recantatⁿ sermon. I told him, no, but if men wld not accept my Labors God will. As for ye Governor, He hath bin ye principal Author of ye multitude of ordinaries w^h be in Boston, giving licences wn ye townsmen wld not doe it. No wonder yt N. E. is visited, wn ye Head is so spirited. [49]

¹ Dr. Leonard Hoar died on November 28, 1675, and this allusion is to the catalogue of his library.

² Rev. Seth Fletcher, of Saco, Maine. See Historical Collections (fourth series, VIII. 599 note).

28) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

Sad thoughts in my Hrtⁿ wth respect to ye state of ys poor countrey, fearing yet greater Judgtⁿ; e ill success as to Armies: Bec. 1: God seemes to be agtⁿ vs in resp. of ye season A fortnight or 3 weekes since it was bitter cold, yt pvisⁿ could not reach ye Army, wn yy had ye Indians at an advantage. Now it is like April (some yt have bin in ye countrey above 40 yea 50 years pfesg yy never knew ye like at ye time of ye year) whereby ye Indians have an advantage to escape. 2. people are not Hu^mbled e Reformed. full of murmurings, e vnreasonable Rage agtⁿ ye enemy. 3. It is to be feared yt yir is guilt vpoⁿ ye Land in resp. of ye Indians yea Guilt of blood in resp. of ye Indian so treacherously murdered at Chelmsford. I am affraid God will visit for yt g^{ff}. 4. one of ye great sins of N. E. is a noli me tangere, to E. straithandedness towards ministry e ye ordinances of God. 5. Magistrates have no Heart to doe wt yy might in order to Reformation. esp^{ly} ye Governor. Nor will yy call vpoⁿ ye churches to renew yir covtⁿ wth God. Ld be mercifull e fit for yi Holy pleasure. [46*]

29) prpd for sabbath. examining my selfe e state bef ye Ld, I was not wthout Hope yt converting grace saving grace e some growth yin, wrought in my soul. The Ld Jesus add vnto it!

30) A. M. assisted in pching beyond expectatⁿ gracious quicknings & enlargements, at ye Lords supp. Blessed be God in et! P. M. mr. Epps pched.

31) A. M. several visitors et P. M. heard Relatioⁿs of 3 desiring to Joyn to church. Read co^ments on Rev. 3. 1.

12^m. 1^d.) A. M. studyed serm. sic P. M. Read in Clark 2 vol.

2) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. After mr Thatcher Lect. wth elders et And wth old Negos who sent to speake wth me, being a Lamentable object, crying out yt ye devill had power over him, e yt yr was no hope for him, yt God. had forsaken him, e answered him not Hee is an old e hath bin a strict pfessor formerly, but Love of drink e a proud high spirit, hath brought him to ys misery.

3) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. studyed sermⁿ. [47*]

4) A. M. at church-meeting, where I read several of ye Laws respecting Reformatⁿ, pticularly those Laws w^h respect excess in apparel, & Townedwellers being at Taverns, & solemnly exhorted ye church to attend ye things yr mentioned. Also I read yt w^h was reco^mended to churches respecting yr childreⁿ of ye church, declaring my willingness to attend wt I thought ye Rule required in yt respect, I desired yt yy will bring to me ye Names e ages of yir children, yt I might send for ym, e enquire into yir sp^{te} estates &c.

After ye church was gone C[aptain Thomas]. Lake e mr Richards stayed, & C. Lake sd (ye other seconding him) yt wn ministers did lay a solemn charge vpoⁿ people, it might take in ye ignorant, but no rational

men wld regd wt was sd ye more for yt. I told ym, Truth had ye more Authority with it wn it came in such a way, as wn a Father injoynd ys or yt duty, yr was ye more weight spoke in wt was sd, bec. it came fro^m a Father. And I put ym in mind of yt scripture. Heb. 13. 17. [48*]

5) prpd for sabbath.

6) A. M. Mr Gersh^m Hubbard¹ prched. P. M. Ld graciously assisted me in his work.

7) A. M. discourses wth visitors. P. M. wrote tres to E. Read in Clarke.

8) A. M. Wth mr Fost^r at his press &c dined at mr deanes. P. M. discourse wth mr Thacher, shepard et. Read de doctoribus Misnicis.

9) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. read Goclenij Logicae praxin. e Ration. disputandi. Read in Clark et

10) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. visited several. studyed serm.

11) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

12) prpd for sabbath.

13) Ld assisted in his work both pts of day. To him alone be all ye prayse. [49*]

14) A. M. read co^ments in Josh. 7. P. M. visited several.

15) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. composed ye difference between R. W. e his wife et

16) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. At Obadiah Walkers Funerall.

17) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. And wh Council at Mr. Rowlandsons² request, to desire yt meanes might be vsd to Redeem his wife e children out of hands of enemy et

18) A. M. studyed serm. P. M. read on Owen de Theol.

19) prpd for sabbath

20) A. M. mr. epps phed. P. M. graciously assisted in Lds worke.

21) A. M. wth mr. Allen, Governor et. P. M. studyed sermⁿ.

22) Fasted e prayed in my study.

23) prpd for day of Hu^miliatⁿ. [50]

24) Grounds of Hu^miliatⁿ. 1. My old sins. 2. Abiding p^gs. 3. Not being sutably affected wth ye awefull p^{ro}vidences of God round about. As to Publick. 1. p^{ro}testant Interest Low. A sad Inundatⁿ in Holland. 2. In Virginia many English killed. 3. N. E. in a miserable state. This day fortnight Lancaster in great pt destroyed; Many taken captive e killed by Heathen. mr Rowlandsoⁿs Family carried captives.

¹ Rev. Gershom Hobart, who a year or two later was settled over the church at Groton. Together with two brothers he graduated at Harvard College in the Class of 1667. See Sibley's Harvard Graduates (II. 229-234).

² Rev. Joseph Rowlandson, of Lancaster, whose family was captured on February 10, 1675-6, by the Indians.

Last 2d day, Medfield in great pt destroyed. 4. There is a Malignant Fever in Salem e in Boston. In diverse Houses near mine.

Requests to God in ct. 1. yt more of his spirit given to me. 2. That his prsence may be wth me in his work. 3. Yt my Family graciously prserved by him.

As to Publick. 1. The Ld have mercy on his Jerusalem every where. 2 pitty N. E. 3. sanctify yes Judgts. 4. Have Compassⁿ on ym yt deep suffers in ys day of calamity. 5. Restore peace to ys Land. 6. prserve Boston fro^m desolating judgts. Amen! O Lord Amen!

A. M. Mr Noel prayed. Mr. Allen pched. P. M. Mr Eliot prayed. I pched. Ld graciously assisted. [51]

25) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

26) prpd for sabbath. examining self Hopes yt grace e some grace in soul.

27) A. M. graciously assisted in prayr e pching; e quickened at Lds Table. P. M. my br Cottoⁿ pched.

28) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. e read in Clarkes examples.

29) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. Read in Clarke.

1^m 1^d) prpd for day of Humiliatⁿ. appoynted by General Court.

Causes for Hu^miliatⁿ 1. psonal. Former pgs. And prsent evils. Alas I am not affected wth ye miseries of others as I sld be; Nor wth ye dolefull state of ys Countrey. pride. vnthankfullness. vnbelief. carnality. 2. Publick. great desolation lately come vpoⁿ 2 Plantations. The sword not yet putt vp. grievous sinning e murmuring amongst ye people. Famine e other Judgts seem near at hand. [52]

Request to God in ct. That more of his spirit may be given to me that Hee would enable me to carry it in ys day of Temptatioⁿ, as shall be pleasing in his sight, e for ye honor of his Name. That Hee would bless e pvide for my Poor sinfull Family. That Hee would sanctify yes awfull Judgts on ye Countrey. And Reverse ym in due Time. Rebuke ye Heathen. psy Armies. Prserve Boston fro^m desolating Judgts. Amen! gracious God, Amen!

2) I have ye greater cause to be Humbled ys day in yt my precious mother dyed on ys day of ye month. 21 years agoe.

A. M. Mr Fletcher pched. P. M. P. M. [sic] Ld graciously assisted me in prayr & in pching also. To him be glory forever.

3) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

4) prpd for sabbath [53]

5) A. M. Mr Corlet pched P. M. graciously assisted.

6) A. M. Read co^ments in 2 Tim. 3. 5. sic P. M. Read in Owen Theol.

7) A. M. mr Higg. wh me et Interrupted in studyes by visitations et P. M. studyed sermⁿ.

- 8) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. Read in Clarkes examples.
- 9) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. At night studyed serm.
- 10) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. at Nathan Rainsfords ¹ Funeral.
- 11) prpd for sabbath.
- 12) A. M. Mr Gersho^m Hubbard phed P. M. graciously assisted in Lds work.
- 13) A. M. wrote bre about Renewing Covt. P. M. at S. Greens et
- 14) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. supped at Mrs Hoars. [54]
- 15) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. Read Clark 2^d vol.
- 16) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. And wth mr Thacher studyed sermⁿ.
- 17) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. visited Mr Wigglesworth, C[aptain William]. Davis, Mrs Winslow yy being sick.
- 18) prpd for sabbath.
- 19) A. M. Mr Epps prched. P. M. graciously assisted.
- 20) A. M. visitors wth me. P. M. wth mr Thr e mr All. about Lres to ministers et. studyed sermⁿ. at night.
- 21) studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.
- 22) Fasted e prayed in my study, e prpd for Lecture.
- 23) A. M. prpd for Lect. Assisted in some measure in Lds work. After Lect. wth elders. e wth mr Rowlandson et [55]
- 24) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.
25. 1676. prpd for sabbath. examined my selfe by ye signs of vp-rightness in Scudders dayly walk. e by ye signs of a godly man in Byfield, as also by ye markes I am wont to examine by; & I was not without Hope yt a work of grace is wrought in my soul, e some growth yrin. Ld Jesus perfect it.
- 26) graciously quickned at Lds Table ys day & assisted in pching both pts of ye day
- 27) A. M. Read in Owen de Theol. P. M. visited several widows et Read in Clark
- 28) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. Read in Clark 2. vol. ad finem vsq.
- 29) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. at Mr. Thachers, C[aptain Thomas]. Lakes et studyed sermⁿ.
- 30) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wh elders. visited Governor Winthrop ² who ill &c. [56]
- 31) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. discourse wth my br Tim. studyed sermⁿ.
- 2^m 1^d) prpd for sabbath
- 2) A. M. Mr Gersh. Hubbard prhed P. M. graciously assisted in Lds work.

¹ A merchant of Boston, who had previously been a cooper at Charlestown.

² John Winthrop, Jr., Governor of Connecticut, who died on April 6.

3) At Cambridge ys day, where ye Corporation mett to consider of Colledge affairs.

4) A. M. wrote tre to Dr Owen &c P. M. visited Governor Winthrop who sick, e C[aptain]. Davis et. Read in Dr Sibs. et

5) A. M. read in Dr Sibs. P. M. at G. Wfms burial. studyed sermⁿ.

6) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. Interrupted in study wh Sams. illness. After Lect. wh elders. And discourse wth elder Humphrey et.

7) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. onely disturbed wth Sams. illness.

8) prpd for sabbath. [57]

9) A. M. graciously assisted in Lds worke. P. M. Rowlandson pched.

10) A. M. Read Mortons Hist. of N. E. P. M. at Governor Winthrops Funeral. Read in Morton.

11) A. M. Read in Hall of Magistrates. P. M. read coñments on 1 Pet. 4. 17.

12) A. M. at chrch-meeting where Mr Alcock & Mrs Moulder, made Relations et P. M. visited several. studyed sermⁿ. At chrch-meeting. I pppounded yt church wld looke after further supply as to ministry but yy not willing, but desired deac. to distribute out of contributⁿ towards such as sld occasionally ph, 10^s et

13) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect wth elders. At Mrs Wades. S. Greens et.

14) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

15) prpd for sabbath.

16) A. M. Mr Hubbard prhed. P. M. Assisted graciously. [58]

17) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. visited several who sick. e studyed sermⁿ.

18) Fasted e prayed in my study. wth hopes of gracious acceptance in Jesus et

19) prpd for day of Humiliatⁿ at old Meeting House.

20) Day of Humiliatⁿ at old meeting. A. M. mr Noel prayd, e mr Allen pched P. M. mr Allen prayd, e I pched & prayd. graciously assisted in Lds worke.

21) studyed (& also coñmitted to memory) a whole sermon ys day.

22) prpd for sabbath. examining selfe, hopes yt grace & some growth yrin wrought in my soul. Let Jesus Christ carry it on to pfection!

23) A. M. graciously assisted in Lds work quicknings at Lds Table. P. M. mr Wiswall prched.

24) A. M. Read in Hall on 2 Tim. 3. dined at mr. Diers. P. M. visited several. Read in Owen Theol. [59]

25) A. M. read in Owen de Theol. P. M. visited mr Th. Sheaf mr Wigg. Read in Owen, e Clark examples.

26) A. M. studiedy sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders et. Read paps out of E. et.

27) A. M. studiedy sermⁿ. After Lect at Maj. Willards¹ Funeral. et

28) A. M. discourse wh br J. C. P. M. at mr Lidgets² Funeral. studiedy sermⁿ.

29) prpd for sabbath.

30) A. M. mr Hubbard pched. P. M. graciously assisted in Lds worke.

3^m. 1^d) A. M. wrote Hist of warr Indians. sic P. M.

2) Wrote more of Hist. sic P. M. e discourse wh diverse elders yt visited me ys day.

3) Election day. P. M. wh elders at Mr Allens e Mr Vsbers.

4) A. M. wth elders at mr Thachers. sic P. M. e at General Court At evening prayed wth Hannah Collicot who lay a dying. [60]

5) Little sleep in night bec. of Naths. Illness. A. M. wrote more of History. P. M. studiedy sermⁿ.

6) A. M. studiedy sermⁿ. P. M. at burial of Hannah Collicot. visited mr Deering et

7) A. M. Mr Arnold prched. P. M. my br J. C. pched.

8) A. M. wrote exh. sic P. M. Much of Time taken up wth visitors.

9) Grounds of Hu^miliatⁿ bef ye Ld. psonal. old sins. Abiding p^gs. Bodily distemps prevayling vpoⁿ my children espty Nath. & Sam.

Publick. The Good People in E. are still exposed to sufferings. In Virginia ye Indians Cutt off many of ye english. N. E. is in sad estate. The warr wth ye Indians still having little success. Nor fitness for deliverance. ys is a sickly time. many in Bostoⁿ ill. some dye.

Requests to God in ct. Mercy fro^m his people abroad. for N. E. For Boston For my sinfull Family that health may be yrin For mysele, yt I may be guided e assisted as to writing dē state of N. E. et [61]

10) A. M. wrote pt of exh. sic P. M. Interrupted by visitors. wrote more of exh. At mrs wheatons Funeral.

11) A. M. wrote more of exh. After Lect wh elders. wrote more of exh.

12) A. M. wrote more of exh. sic P. M. discourse wh visitors.

13) prpd for sabbath.

14) A. M. Mr Willard³ prched. P. M. graciously assisted.

¹ Major Simon Willard, of Groton, whose house there was the first one burned when that town was destroyed by the Indians, on the 13th of the preceding month. He died at Charlestown on April 24.

² Peter Lidget, a rich merchant of Boston, who died on April 26.

³ Rev. Samuel Willard, of Groton, then without a charge, as that town had been destroyed by the Indians a few weeks previously. Soon afterward he was settled over the Third Church (Old South) in Boston, and later he became the Vice-President of Harvard College.

15) A. M. visited several yt sick. P. M. Wrote more of exh.

16) A. M. Finished exhort. P. M. at mr Russels¹ Funeral in Charles Towne. Read in morning exercise et

17) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. at Funeral of mr Vsher.²

18) A. M. Transcribed exh. After Lect at mr Atwaters³ Funeral. wh A. I told him yt ye report yt he & his wife e B. d. lay all in one bed at Salem. Hee sd so did, e Justified it bec. intended no hurt, e it was his wives desire yt it sld be so. I am afraid scandal to ye gospell will so arise. much sin be comitted e greater Judgt hastned on ys place. [62]

19) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. And at Mrs Wades Funeral.

20) Fasted & prayed bef ye Ld in my study examined myselfe, & prpd for sabbath.

21) A. M. graciously assisted. And quickned at Lds Table. Between meetings prayed wh C. davis, e Mr Thacher, who very sick. P. M. Mr [William] Wooddrope prched. visited 4 several sick Families.

22) A. M. wrote epte ad Hist. P. M. visited sick psons vp e down.

23) A. M. visited sick. sic P. M. in 10 sick Families ys day. corrected pt of M.SS.

24) A. M. corrected M.SS.

After Lect wh mr Thacher who sick, e wh mother et. studyed sermⁿ.

25) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect wth elders. studyed sermⁿ.

26) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. At C. davis⁴ Funeral. [63]

27) prpd for sabbath.

28) A. M. mr G. Hubbard phed. P. M. graciously Assisted in ye Lords work.

29) A. M. visited sick psons. pvsed M.SS. P. M. pvsed my mothers M.SS.

30) A. M. discourse wth friends. P. M. Read in Owen de Theol. At Mrs deerings Funeral. prayed wh several sick children.

31) A. M. visited several sick psons. P. M. pvsed my mothers M.SS. e took Inventory. Read in Clarks examp

4^m. 1^d) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect wh elders. & at Mr Thachers who ill agñ.

2) A. M. visited several sick psons. P. M. studyed sermⁿ. discourse wth my br. S. e J.

3) A. M. Looked over, e made divisⁿ of movables et. P. M. prpd for sabbath.

¹ Richard Russell, who died on May 14, according to Sewall's Diary. "A magistrate and the County Treasurer; a godly man." (Hull's Diary, p. 242.)

² Hezekiah Usher, who died on May 14.

³ Joshua Atwater, who died on May 16.

⁴ Captain William Davis, who commanded a company in the Pequot War, and was also the commander of the Artillery Company.

4) A. M. my br. J. C. phed. P. M. my br. S. C. I prhed at dorchester. [64]

5) A. M. at Artillery electⁿ. I refused to dine wth souldiers bec. it was in an ordinary, contrary to ye Law established, as considering, it wld not be possible to Reforme ye co^mon sort of people in things of yt coⁿ, if Leaders did not set bef ym a good example. P. M. divided Rest of movables et

6) A. M. wrote more of History. P. M. studyed sermⁿ et.

7) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. visited several et.

8) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. visited several. At Mrs Minots¹ Funeral et

9) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

10) prpd for sabbath

11) A. M. mr Emerson phed. P. M. Assisted in some measure in Lds worke.

12) A. M. wrote fres to E. P. M. Read in Clarkes examples.

13) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. read in Clarke. catechised children. [65]

14) Fasted e prayed in my study.

15) A. M. Added to History. After Lect. wth elders. et.

16) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. Read History of Severitus [Servetus?] P. M. Studyed sermⁿ. Read Franklin of Antict.

17) prpd for sabbath. examining state, Hopes yt grace & some growth yrin.

18) A. M. Assisted (in some measure) in pching e prayr. Quickened at Lds supp in last prayr.

19) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

20) prpd for day of Humiliatⁿ in o^r congregation.

21) causes of Hu^miliatⁿ. Publick. 1. The ch^ts in E. in suffering conditⁿ 2 The sword is drawn still in N. E. 3. of late it hath bin a sickly Time. private. old sins. present p^gs. matters of prayr. 1. Mercy for E. 2. for N. E. 3. success to Armes already 4. yt peace may be Restored. 5. Boston prserved. personal. [66] 1. For more of cts spirit. 2. His prsence wth me in his worke. 3. guidance as to Labors in writing et.

A. M. Ld assisted in prayr Mr Willard phed. P. M. graciously assisted in ye Lds worke.

22) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. & at Mr Thachers et.

23) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. e read Coma Berenices et

24) prpd for sabbath.

¹ Mrs. Mary Minot, widow of Captain John Minot, whose will is dated June 5, 1376.

25) A. M. Mr Willard preached. P. M. graciously assisted in phing e in prayr.

26) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. Read in Moxon of Globes et.

27) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. wrote more of History. Read in Clarkes examples. [67]

28) prpd for day of Thanksgiving.

29) grounds of Thankfullness bef ye Lord. 1. Publick; all those 8 pticulers mentioned in sermⁿ to day. 2. psonal. Former mercyes mentioned in diary. 1672. p. 31, 32. of late. 1. God hath given me esteem amongst his people. 2. something of his prsence in his worke 3. Hath prserved my habitation & Bookes, wn several ministers, (mr Glover, Rowlandson, du^mer) in ys Land have bin deprived of such mercyes. 4. Hath continued Health to me. yea wn of late almost every body was ill of ye cold yt was epidemical, God spared me ye chief of sinners. 5 Hath plentifully pvided for me in yes difficult Times. 6. He hath healed my sick children. Nath. e Sam. were both sick in ye spring. but God hath recovered ym. Samuel was near to death again about a fortnight agoe, I Fasted e prayed for his Life, & God hath heard me. Let his Name alone have prayse e glory! Bless ye Lord O my soul! [68]

A. M. Assisted in some measure in work of Ld. P. M. Mr Brinsmead prhed.

30) A. M. discourse wth those yt visited me. P. M. visited others.

5^m 1^d) A. M. wrote additon to History & exhort. P. M. read in Herberts pson. studyed sermⁿ, last disappointed in Helpe.

2) A. M. mr Hubbard pched. P. M. mr Richardson prhed. I rode to dorchester & pched yr. graciously assisted in ye Lds work.

3) A. M. wrote more of History. sic P. M. e wth mr Thacher et

4) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. Read Herberts Countrey pson. Read in Clarks Examples.

5) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

6) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. visited sundry.

7) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. wrote more of History. catechised children. Read Mays History of warr in E. [69]

8) prpd for sabbath.

9) A. M. graciously assisted in Lds worke. P. M. mr Clark prhd.

10) A. M. discourse wth mr J. R.¹ P. M. wh mr Th. at Charles Town to discourse wh mr. Shepd about connecticot contributⁿ et Read mr Stows tre to mr Miles. Read in Owen

11) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. listn forg child weake. [*This entry has been crossed out.*]

¹ Perhaps John Richards, a member of his church and a prominent man in the community.

11) A. M. read in Owen on Heb. 2 vol. P. M. discourse wh Mr Th. e Mr shep. Read comments on Heb. 4.

12) Fasted e prayd in my study. Hopes of gracious acceptance through ye merit e mediatiⁿ of ct.

13) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect wth elders, e at printers et.

14) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. read dē swearing in Boreman, Powell et

15) prpd for sabbath. examining selfe, Hopes yt grace e some growth yrin wrought in my soul. [70]

16) A. M. assisted in some measure in Lds worke. graciously quickened at Lds supper.

17) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. e visited several.

18) prpd for Lecture.

19) prhed Lect at New Meeting House Assisted in some measure. After Lect. wth Mr Thacher. At printers¹ et.

20) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. At printers et.

21) studyed sermⁿ. Read dē swearing. discourse wth Mr Brock et

22) prpd for sabbath.

23) A. M. Mr Hubbard prhed. P. M. graciously assisted in Lds worke.

24) A. M. discourse wth several. P. M. visited several (dined at Mr diers). wrote ep̄le to exh

25) A. M. wrote more of History. P. M. Read in Voetius. [71]

26) A. M. wrote ep̄le. P. M. Read in Voetius. Hist. of Formosa et

27) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders.

28) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. read in Clark e Caryl.

29) prpd for sabbath.

30) A. M. graciously assisted in Lds worke. P. M. Mr. [William] Brinsmead prhd.

31) A. M. wth Mr Winthrope et. P. M. wh. Mr Thacher, &c. wrote Hist.

6^m. 1^d) A. M. Read in Cowdry e Hughs of sabbath. dined wh Commiss. at Mr Jolliffs. P. M. Read in Owen of sabbath.

2) A. M. wrote more of Hist. P. M. read de sabbathe.

3) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect wth Magistrates. e wth Mr Thacher et

4) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. Read in Twiss e Bownd of sabbath.

5) prpd for sabbath.

6) A. M. Mr Willard prhed. P. M. Ld assisted in his worke. [72]

¹ At this period John Foster was the only printer in Boston. "An Earnest Exhortation to the Inhabitants of New-England" by Mather, was printed about this time.

7) Fasted e prayed in my study. though much interrupted, by visitatio^{ns} of those yt come to see me et.

8) At Co^menct in Cambridge. At night wth Capt Foster¹ of dorchester, who desired me to have special care dē his sons in Bostoⁿ after his death et

9) A. M. wrote more of Hist. P. M. wth elders at Generall Court et

10) This day spent wth elders in consultatⁿ. Mr Cobbet, mr Thacher, mr oakes, mr shepd mr Torrey, e my selfe appointed as a Comittee to draw vp elders answe^rs to q. of general court, so yt wee could not attend ye Lecture, bec. taken vp wholly wth ys affair. There was a gracious prsence of God wth vs. No one but Mr Hubbard of Hingham, declaring nonconcurrence wth ye Rest. Although mr Eliot at first scrupled, yet at last Hee consented.

11) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

12) prpd for sabbath. examining selfe found signs of grace e some growth yrin. Ld for more!

13) A. M. graciously assisted in prhing e prayr. some quicknings at [73] at Lds Table. esp^{ly} in last prayr, wn I sayd vnto God. wee know yo wilt bestow great glory vpoⁿ vs in another world forever, but shall not wee yn yrin endeavor to bring much glory vnto yee, wn last wee are, in ys world? Now Lord Help vs in it!

P. M. Mr Bulkley prched.

14) A. M. wrote History.² P. M. visited several. Read in Clarkes Examples.

15) A. M. wrote fres to E. P. M. visited sick e others.

16) A. M. wrote Hist After Lect. wh mr Thacher. Read Owen of sabbath.

17) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect wh elders. At press et Read in Chamberlain state of E.

18) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. e read Lds day sabbath. et.

19) prpd for sabbath. [74]

20) A. M. mr Hubbard prhed. P. M. graciously assisted in Gods worke.

21) A. M. Finished History. P. M. Visited several. Read dē Th Co^mand^t.

22) At Cambridge where Corporatⁿ mett about chusing a Fellow.

23) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. Read Camel e Rivet et on precept. 5. P. M. at Peter Bennets Funeral et.

24) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. wth elders. At printers, e at mr Allins et

¹ Hopeskill Foster, father of John, the first printer of Boston.

² An allusion to Mather's "Brief History of the VVar with the Indians in Nevv-England, (From June 24, 1675. . . . to August 12, 1675. . . .)," etc.

25) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. At Governours. studyed sermⁿ.
Read in Clarke.

26) prpd for sabbath.

27) A. M. mr Willard pchd. P. M. Ld assisted in his worke.

28) A. M. wrote tres. P. M. visited several

29) A. M. Read of Covetousn. P. M. studyed sermⁿ.

30) studyed sermⁿ. Read in Capell Hall et [75]

31) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. e at Corporatⁿ
meeting. e at br Collicots wh mr deering et

7^m. 1^d) studyed sermⁿ.

2) prpd for sabbath.

3) A. M. Mr. Corlet phed. P. M. Ld. assisted in work in some
measure.

4) A. M. Read in Help to disc. P. M. spent in visitations.

5) A. M. Read coments in Heb. 13. P. M. visited sick psons et

6) Fasted e prayd in my study.

7) A. M. Interrupted wh visitats. After Lect. wth elders. dined
at mr Allens. studyed sermⁿ.

8) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. discourse wh R. W. dē Mr W.
Hee sd, yt had heard 20 men say *of me, yt if I wld leave B¹ yt my*
Hearers yt if I wld Leave ym I might; e if I were gone, yy did not
doubt but yy sld have a better. et. but named onely 2 yt dead, who I
believe never spake so seriously. [76]

prpd for sabbath. examining selfe, hopes yt grace e some growth
yryn wrought in my soul.

10) A. M. Assisted in some measure in prhing e in prayr. & ad-
ministring at Lds Table, though not so quickned as at some Times.
P. M. Mr Willard prched.

11) A. M. Read in Owen Theol. P. M. In Comon where Training
et.² At mrs davenports Funeral.

12) A. M. spent mostly in discourse wh visitors, esply G. Biles 2
such dē sple estate. P. M wth Mr T. to pswade him to pray in hs
Famlye. Read in Help to discourse.

13) A. M. discourse wth Mr Barclay. P. M. Read Theol. of Judgt̃,
e Clark de Avaritiā.

14) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders et

15) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. e discourses wh friends et

16) prpd for sabbath.

17) A. M. graciously assisted in pching e prayr. P. M. mr. Bar-
clay prched. [77]

¹ Italicized words crossed out in the original.

² According to a manuscript entry in an old almanac, there was this day a
“Mock Fight. Indian Fight,” presumably on the Common, as that was then the
Training Field. See Sewall's Diary (I. 16 note).

18) A. M. visited several wh Mr Barclay. P. M. visited others et

19) A. M. wrote fres. Read mr Lawsons paps. P. M. visited several. Read in Owen Theol.

20) A. M. Read dr Stoughton of Covetousness. P. M. Read in Hall on 2 Tim. 3. 2. At Mrs Endicotts Funeral.

21) A. M. studied sermⁿ. After Lect wth elders, discourse wth Mr Stoughtoⁿ

22) A. M. studied sermⁿ. P. M. Read in discourse of witchcraft. studied sermⁿ.

23) prpd for sabbath.

24) A. M. mr Barclay prhed. P. M. Assisted in some measure though not so enlarged as at some Times.

25) A. M. studied sermⁿ. P. M. visited several.

26) A. M. visited mr Lake e others. P. M. Read mr Neh. wis- weles M.SS. catechised e examined ch. Morals children

27) A. M. studied sermⁿ. P. M. read Help to disc. ad finem vsq. [78]

28) A. M. studied sermⁿ. After Lect dined wth Coñmissioners. visited Mr davenport e Mr Willard et studied sermⁿ.

29) A. M. Read dē sacrifice. P. M. rode to dorchester to visit Capt Foster.¹ Read in Owens exercit. 24.

30) prpd for sabbath.

1^d A. M. my br. J. C. prhed. P. M. graciously assisted.

8^m. 2^d) This day, Interrupted wth visitors yt could doe little at my study. onely wrote fres.

3) At Roxbury where day of Hu^miliatⁿ. At night studied sermon.

4) A. M. studied sermⁿ. P. M. read de sacrificio.

5) A. M. studied sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. et Read in Syn. Leyden. de Missa.

6) Fasted & prayd in my study. At night Read in Albaspinus de Ritib^{us} Ecclesiae.

7) prpd for sabbath. Examining my Hr̄ e state bef ye Ld, I had Hopes yt grace e some growth yrin, wrought in my soul.

8) A. M. graciously assisted. some quicknings at Lds Table. P. M. Mr. Rowlandson phd [79]

9) studied sermⁿ.

10) prpd for day of Hu^miliatⁿ at new Meeting House.²

11) Grounds of Hu^miliatⁿ. private. 1. old sins. 2. Remaining p̄gs. 3. vnp̄fitableness. I doe little good in my generatⁿ. 2. Publick 1. In E. things sad. 2. In N. E. sword is drawn still. 3. Cont a sickly Time. Matters of supplicatⁿ. 1st more of spirit of ct given to me. 2. yt my Labors may be successfull. 3. My Family blessed. 4. yt

¹ Captain Hopestill Foster, who died on October 14, 1676.

² Meeting-house of the Third Church.

Ld wld have mercy on his people in E. et. 5. That peace e Health may be restored to N. E. Amen! O God in christ Jesus Amen!

Fast in New meeting House.

A. M. Mr Thacher prayd e pched. P. M. Mr Allen prayd, e I pchd e prayd. graciously assisted.

12) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. Not abroad at Lecture bec. troubled wth flux.

13) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. e wrote lre to Dublin et

14) prpd for sabbath. e wrote lres et [80]

15) A. M. mr G. Hubbard prhed. P. M. graciously assisted in Lds worke.

16) A. M. wrote lres to E. P. M. at mr Allins where read Mr Bonds M.SS. et

17) At Fast in Town House wth general court, in reference to Messengers being sent to E. et

18) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. Read in clark. e in cic. orat.

19) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders. studyed sermⁿ.

20) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. e catechised children.

21) prpd for sabbath.

22) A. M. Mr Willard prhd. P. M. graciously assisted in Lds worke.

23) A. M. wrote defence agt mr B. sic P. M.

24) A. M. Read Autores de sinceritate. P. M. read C. g. M.SS. about ye won

25) A. M. read C. G. M.SS. ad fin^m. P. M. studyed sermⁿ. discourse wh C. Torrey et [81]

26) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. wh elders At mrs paddyes Funeral. studyed sermⁿ et

27) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. at mrs. scarlets Funeral. et.

28) prpd for sabbath. Read in Purchase of America et

29) A. M. mr G. Hubbard prhed. P. M. Assisted in some measure, yet not so mch enlarged bef at many Times.

30) A. M. wrote Hist. of first Troubles by Indians. P. M. Read in Purchase.

31) Fasted e Prayed in my study. some meltings of Hrř bef ye Ld. e Hopes of gracious acceptance, through christ. Amen!

9^m. 1^d) A. M. Read in Purchase. P. M. wrote more of History et

2) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wth elders dined at Mr Allens. studyed sermⁿ.

3) A. M. wrote more of Hist. dined wh Magistrats. P. M. studyed sermⁿ.

4) prpd for sabbath. examining my owne Hrř e state I had hopes yt grace e some growth yrin wrought in my soul. [82]

5) A. M. graciously assisted e quickned at Lds Table. P. M. my br. Cotton prhed

6) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. wrote more of Hist. At night Read in Clark.

7) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. e at mr John davenports Funeral.

8) prpd for day of thanksgiving.

9) grounds e causes of solemn thanksgivings bef ye Ld ys day. Besides ye pticulars mentioned in diary. 1672. p. 31, 32. 1. Publick mercyes mentⁿd in sermⁿ. 2. The Ld hath bin prsent wth me in his work. 3. Hee hath given me e my poor Labors to find acceptance amongst his people. 4. Hath given Health to me e mine wn it hath bin a sickly Time. 5. Hath graciously pvided for me, wn it hath bin a difficult Time. 6. Hath restored my sick children (esply Samuel) to health agñ. Bless ye Lord O my soul.

A. M. mr Hubbard pched. P. M. graciously Assisted.

10) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M. e read in Bell et At Mrs Winthrops Funeral.

11) prpd for sabbath. Read mr H History of Pequot warr et [83]

12) A. M. mr Gersh. Hubbard phd. P. M. graciously assisted.

13) A. M. wrote more of Relatⁿ of Troubles et sic P. M. Read Mortⁿ et

14) A. M. wrote more of Relatⁿ et. P. M. visited sick. Read vt pri^{us}

15) A. M. wrote more of Relat. P. M. Read in C. Smiths experiences et. Read coñments in Zeph. 3.

16) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

17) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. P. M. at mrs Atwaters. studyed sermⁿ

18) A. M. prpd for sabbath. sic P. M. Read mr Hub. MSS.

19) A. M. mr Thornton prhed. P. M. graciously assisted.

20) A. M. Read in Johnsⁿ. P. M. wrote Hist.

21) A. M. wrote Hist. P. M. Read Acts of Coñmissioners.

22) A. M. Read Acts of Coñmiss. e wrote more of Hist. sic P. M. read on Rev. 3. 3.

23) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. After Lect. wh elders. studyed sermⁿ. [84]

24) A. M. studyed sermⁿ. sic P. M.

25) prpd for sabbath.

26) A. M. mr Gersh. Hubbard pchd. P. M. Ld assisted me graciously. This was ye last sermⁿ (fro^m Rev. 3. 3. Rñr thfo how red et) yt was pched in o^r Meeting House.

27) This was ye Fatal e dismall day, wn ye Meeting House e Houses yrabouts, e mine amongst ye Rest, were burnt wh fire.¹ The services

¹ In "Parentator" (p. 78) it is said by Cotton Mather that this fire was predicted by his father in the sermon which he preached eight days before the event.

of ye day were such yt I could doe noth. at my study. I e my wife e several of my children were kindly entertayned at Mr Richards. The Lord reward him.

28) This morning bef I rise, ys thought ca^me into my mind, Is Judg^t begun at ye House of God! Must it begin wth me? And is this all? Shall ye cupp pass away fro^m me so? My hrt was melted bef ye Ld. Surely, I see yt God is a Loving e tender hr^ted Father, inasmuch as Hee is pleased to afflict me Correct me wth so much gentleness. Time taken vp in distract^s by reasⁿ of desolations w^h made yesterday.

29) A. M. Time spent in drying my Bookes e taking care about another House et P. M. Removed things to C. Bredons House. [85]

30) A. M. studied sermⁿ. Read in schindler de Moseroth. P. M. studied sermⁿ

10^m. 1^d) visited mr Vsher, mr Thacher et. P. M. dined at mr Vshers et.

2) A. M. Read in Aul. Gellius. P. M. pvsed dr Hoars Bookes. exercising selfe. Hopes of grace in soul.

3) My selfe e most of o^r church mett ys day at ye old church, where ye sac^t was administred. God hath by fire driven vs out of his House in one place; but He admitts vs into his House else where, e so in Judg^t doth r^{br} mercy.

4) A. M. geting Bookes at mrs Hoars.¹ where dined. sic P. M.

5) Removed fro^m mr Richards to yt House w^h was Capt Bredons.

6) The Time spent in setting vp shelves e Bookes.

7) Day of Publick Hu^miliatⁿ. grounds of deep & sorrowfull Humiliatⁿ bef ye Ld. The sword continueth still in Northern pts. There is sickness e death in diverse places. The sad desolatⁿ by Fire w^h is come vpoⁿ ys end of ye Town, whereby many of my poor Flock are gr impoverished, e ys candlestick removed out of its place, the House of God is Layd wast.

Rev. Dr. EDWARD E. HALE said he need not call the attention of the Society to the fact that this day is the centennial anniversary of the death of Washington. It seemed well that our Record should state that different Patriotic Societies have called public attention to the anniversary in appropriate exercises. He moved that a minute of such general interest should be entered on the Record; and the Society so directed.

¹ By the fire which took place on November 27, Mather lost "not an Hundred Books from above a Thousand; Of those also he had an immediate Recruit, by a Generous Offer which the Honourable Mrs. *Bridget Hoar* made him, to take what he Pleas'd from the Library of her Deceased Husband" (Parentator, p. 79). See Mather Papers (II. 29) in the Prince Library, for a list of books given to him by Mrs. Hoar.

Mr. ALBERT BUSHNELL HART spoke in substance as follows:—

Mr. President,— In behalf of the Historical Manuscripts Committee I beg to place in the custody of the Society the manuscripts relating to the late Chief Justice, Salmon P. Chase, which I have used in the preparation of a recently published biography. It is now nine years since I began the work of collecting the material for this purpose. Mr. Chase was a methodical man who had a keen idea of the value of his papers to posterity; it is therefore very remarkable that although I began my search within twenty years after his death, I was for a long time unable to find any trace of his letters or his manuscript journals and letter books.

The first effort was made through the late Mrs. Kate Chase, formerly Mrs. Sprague, daughter of the Chief Justice, and then living on or near her father's estate of Edgewood, near Washington. She was much interested, but knew nothing of any family papers. They were not, she was sure, in the library at the old house; nothing was there except books. She had gone abroad sometime after her father's death, and the papers had never been in her hands. By degrees she remembered that notices had from time to time been sent her by one of the Washington safe deposit companies, notices to which she never had paid any attention. This gave a clew, and I then made inquiries at the only Washington safe deposit company in existence at the time of Mr. Chase's death, and was informed that it had two trunks of manuscripts which had been in its keeping for more than twenty years, with unpaid charges. It appeared that the papers had been placed there by H. D. Cooke, Mr. Chase's executor, and I made application to Mr. Cooke's widow. She was startled at the idea that she had any responsibility, and would give no answer without consulting her solicitor. The next day she informed me that the papers might be withdrawn on payment of the accumulated charges. Mr. James Ford Rhodes became interested in the papers, as likely to be serviceable for his History, and finally by the payment of a considerable sum secured their release from the safe deposit company.

An inspection showed immediately that this collection included various financial papers, extending throughout Mr.

Chase's life, and also about eight thousand private letters written to him, extending over the period from 1827 to 1873. These letters had been assorted according to the writers, and put up in docketed packages. Eventually I rearranged the whole collection chronologically, and in that form the letters are transferred to the Society. The collection includes a large number of interesting and valuable autograph letters from public men, but its principal value is in the inner light which it throws on politics and political questions during a period of about forty years. In my life of Chase I have used these letters freely as a basis for statements of fact, but I have directly quoted from only a few.

It was a disappointment not to find in this collection the manuscript journals which it was known that Chase had for many years kept, and from which Warden published very large extracts in his so-called "Life." That those manuscripts had remained in existence was unquestioned: Mrs. Chase remembered that the executors had permitted Warden to use them after her father's death, but Warden had gone to Cincinnati, and there died. I went to Cincinnati and followed out every possible clew without success. I could get no trace of Warden or of his books. At lunch one day at the house of a classmate, I detailed my purposes and my disappointments, whereupon he brought in a manuscript volume and asked me if that had any relation to my search. It was the journal of Mr. Chase in 1862, containing the famous account of the Cabinet meetings on the Proclamation of Emancipation. It had been found in a law office in Cincinnati and given to my classmate's father, Col. Ralston Skinner, a nephew of Mr. Chase. No other manuscript material, however, could be found in Cincinnati.

The next step was the appearance at my house in Cambridge one day of a very old gentleman who said that he came at the suggestion of Governor Hoadley of New York, because he understood that I was in search of Mr. Chase's journals. Those journals were in his possession, in Williamsburg, Virginia; but there had been, he said, some expense connected with them: he had made two trips to Cincinnati to secure them, and he felt that he ought to be reimbursed to the extent of about seventy-five dollars. I was willing to reimburse him if I could have some assurance that he really had what I sought; and it

was agreed that the documents should be at once sent up for inspection. They did not come ; I wrote and received no answer, and concluded that I had escaped a pretender. More than a year afterwards I received a letter from a young lady in Williamsburg, stating that her father had recently died, and among his papers they had found an unopened letter from me relative to some Chase documents ; what did it mean ? I replied promptly, and received with equal promptness word to the effect that no such documents were in the house ; but a few days later came another letter stating that seventeen volumes of manuscripts had been discovered. By this time further correspondence seemed useless, and I made the journey to Williamsburg, and there upon a table waiting for me were the seventeen long-sought volumes, including most of the journals (the one volume which I had already secured filling an important gap), and also letter-books and memorandum-books of various kinds. These personal memorials have proved of very great service to the biographer.

In addition to the two large groups of manuscript material, I have obtained from various friends of Mr. Chase, originals of letters or copies of letters written by him ; and in Warden many such letters have been printed of which the originals have disappeared. I feel satisfied in my own mind that a very large number of the letters to and from Chase in Warden's biography were set up by the printer from the originals, which were then destroyed.

The value of these manuscript materials is certainly considerable. To be sure, Warden has exploited the journals. I have compared one volume word for word, and nearly every sentence in the original has been reprinted by Warden, although not in consecutive manner. But the letter books and memorandum books have never before been systematically used. Among these remains were at least three biographical fragments, written by or dictated by Chase, and also the Life of Chase, written by our late member, Edward L. Pierce, and never published. The letters to Chase make a remarkable conspectus of the public and private life of a distinguished man during more than four decades, and throw special light on the interior management and organization of the Treasury Department.

In transferring these papers to the Massachusetts Historical

Society, it is necessary to make clear what appears to be the legal status and ownership. I conceive that these documents, with the exception of the small body of letters from Mr. Chase which I myself collected and have placed in this collection, are the property of Mr. Chase's legal heirs; and I deposit the papers with the Massachusetts Historical Society subject to the joint order of the parties interested. Considering the manner of the acquisition of these papers, and the fact that the two collections had both drifted beyond the control of the family, it seems reasonable to make the condition that the papers shall never be surrendered by the Society in order to be broken up and divided; and further, that in case the heirs should at any time reclaim them, they shall make good to Mr. Rhodes and myself the expense incurred in extinguishing the claims of the persons in whose hands the papers were found.

It is my wish, and I am sure that of Mr. Rhodes, that these documents shall be open to the examination of properly qualified investigators; but here, again, it should be observed that the collection includes a large number of family and private letters, of no historical significance, and it is my expectation that no one shall be allowed to make such use of these papers as shall bring out private family affairs. There is nothing to conceal in Mr. Chase's correspondence; no man has less to suffer from an examination of his private letters; but I have found it an embarrassing and uncomfortable sensation to become innocently possessed of so many intimate details about the personal affairs of a dead man; and I trust that the privacy of the personal material in this collection may be respected.

With these limitations, therefore, I release to the Society the custody of the Chase manuscripts and memoranda.

On motion of Mr. A. C. GOODELL, the thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Hart for his valuable gift.

Hon. EDWARD F. JOHNSON presented to the Library a file of the "Farmer's Cabinet," a weekly journal printed at Amherst, New Hampshire, near the beginning of the century, and which long maintained a high reputation for ability and interest.

Remarks were also made during the meeting by Messrs. WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, HENRY W. HAYNES, SAMUEL A. GREEN, ROBERT N. TOPPAN, and GEORGE B. CHASE.